Urban-rural interaction in cross river state Nigeria.

Aniah, Eugene Joseph Ugbe

URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION IN CROSS RIVER STATE NIGERIA

BY

EUGENE JOSEPH UGBE ANIAH

B.Sc Geography University of Maiduguri Nigeria

M.Sc Environmental and Resources Planning

University of Jos Nigeria

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Department of Geography

University of Durham England

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ABSTRACT.

With independence and the onset of the 'oil boom' urbanisation in Nigeria developed bringing with it deepening rural poverty and urban bias. The administrative structure of the country was altered with the creation of a new capital city, new states and changes in local government resulting in a spatially dispersed urban and administration system. The urban problem remained as the rural areas were increasingly marginalised.

This study identifies the ramifications of urban-rural interaction among migrants in the urban area of Calabar and with their home areas. It assesses the modes of organization of interaction in Obudu as one of the source areas, and attempts to place these within the context of other developmental impulses and influences from the point of view of the prospective development of Obudu. A methodological strategy, incorporating the network approach, triangulation and rural appraisal, was used to counter the difficulty of transposing particular methods from a developed to a developing world situation.

The study shows that migrants' interaction with their home areas, through networks and linkages, is geared towards the preservation of rural opportunities and investment. Remittances are a major source of funds for the training of rural kith and kin. By comparison, urban-based Community Development Associations play a minor role in rural development. However the ability of well-placed migrants to attract projects to their home areas is great.

Government agencies have achieved greater success through infrastructural projects which have also generated employment opportunities. In addition the agencies have increased the accessibility of extension services to farmers and, through the Better Life Programme, have increased female participation in communal decisions and economic development.

Emancipatory rural development is shown to depend on effective collective efforts by both government and members of rural communities themselves.

DECLARATION

The work contained in this thesis has not been submitted elsewhere for any other degree or qualification and that unless otherwise referenced it is the author's own work.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the people of

Nigeria

Africa and

the developing world.

"Freedom is like life.

You cannot be given life in instalments.

You cannot be given breath but no body, nor a heart but no blood vessels.

Freedom is one thing-you have it or you are not free."

Dr. Martin Luther King.

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University of Durham, England. 1992.

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CHAPTER ONE.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION.

The achievement of independence by most West African countries in the early part of the second half of this century was accompanied by a spurt of urbanization within the subregion. In fact West Africa experienced one of the highest rate of urbanization vis-a-vis other world regions during the period 1950 -1970 (Davis, 1972), although it remains among the least urbanized in relative terms (Adepoju, 1988; table 1.1). In Nigeria the situation is particularly profound for the following reasons.

First and foremost has been the incessant urban sectoral bias perpetuated by governments both before and after independence, resulting in polarized urban regional development and rural neglect.

Secondly, political administrative restructurings, which are primarily geared towards sustaining national unity in an ethnically diverse polity have aided population redistribution resulting in reclassification and increased urbanization. For instance, the country's three regional structure at independence in 1960 became a four regional entity in 1963. The country on becoming a federation in 1967 adopted a twelve state constituent structure which was subsequently increased to nineteen in 1976, twentyone in 1987 and thirty in 1991 (Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). In 1978 a new capital city Abuja, was added to the increasing network of urban centres. The capital of each of these states constitutes the highest population concentration in the individual states. The headquarters of the local government areas (LGAs) that make up the states are also main urban centres, and have undergone various

reforms. In 1989 these LGAs were 441 and were later increased to 589 in 1991 as shown in table 1.2. All of them experienced an influx of people as a result of their enhanced status.

Table 1.1. Estimates and projections of percentage of urban population in Africa and major developing regions, 1950-2000.

SUB REGIONS	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Northern Africa	24.4	29.9	36.9	44.3	51.9	59.0
Western Africa	10.1	13.5	17.4	22.5	29.0	36.4
Central Africa	14.5	18.2	25.1	34.5	43.9	51.8
Eastern Africa	5.6	7.6	10.7	16.4	23.0	29.6
Southern Africa	0.8	2.0	5.3	12.9	22.3	29.1
All ECA member states	14.8	18.4	22.8	28.9	35.7	42.4
Latin America	40.8	49.1	57.3	65.4	71.4	75.7
East Asia	16.8	24.6	28.2	32.8	38.4	45.3
South Asia	16.2	18.4	21.2	24.8	30.1	37.1
WORLD	28.9	33.9	37.4	41.1	45.8	51.2

SOURCE: Adepoju, A. (1988) 'Migration and urbanization in Africa: Issues and policies.' in Van de Walle et al (ed) (1988), The state of African demography. IUSSP, p.127.

Figure 1.1 Nigeria's political evolution, 1955-1976.

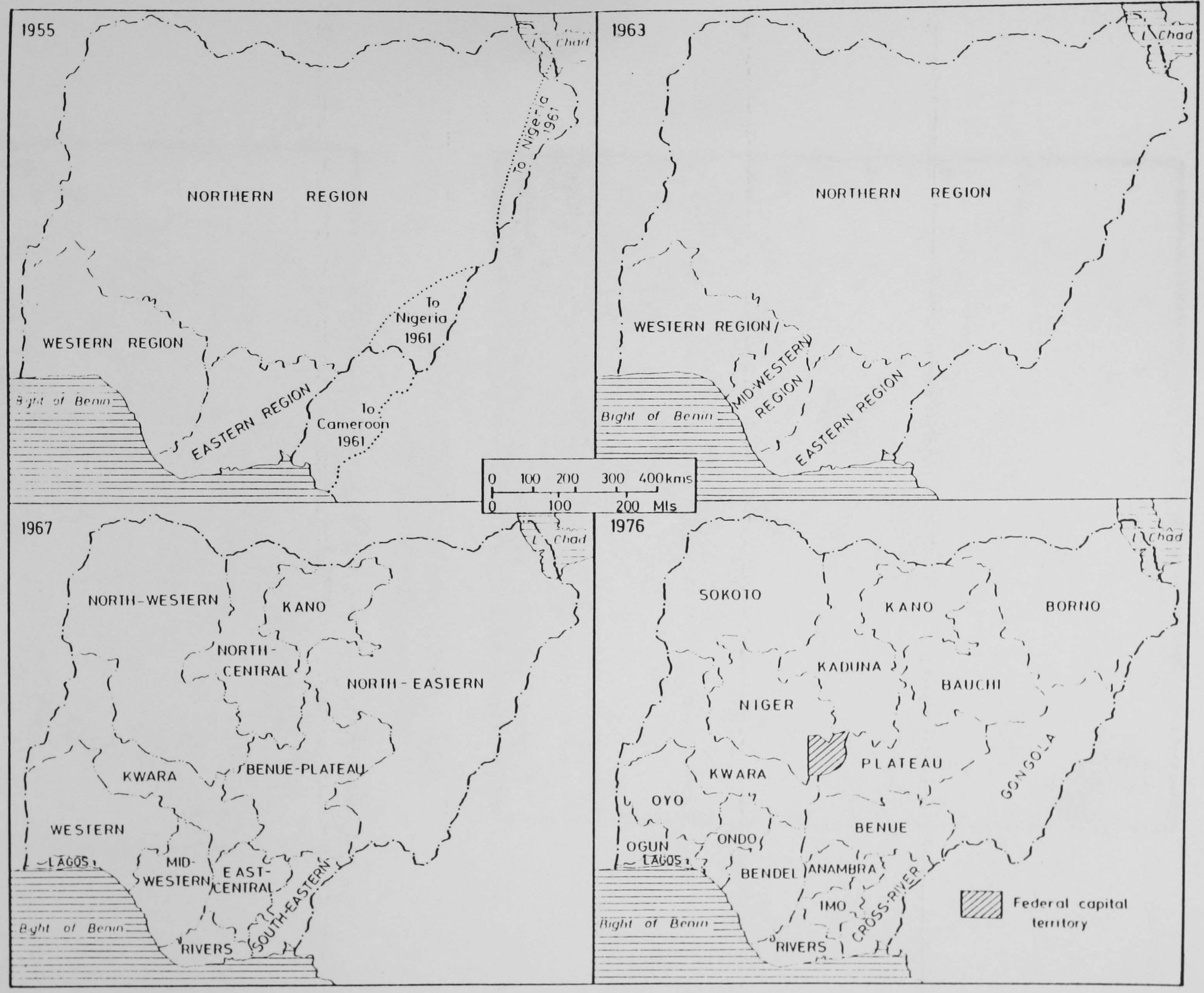


Figure 1.2 Nigeria's 21 states, 1987

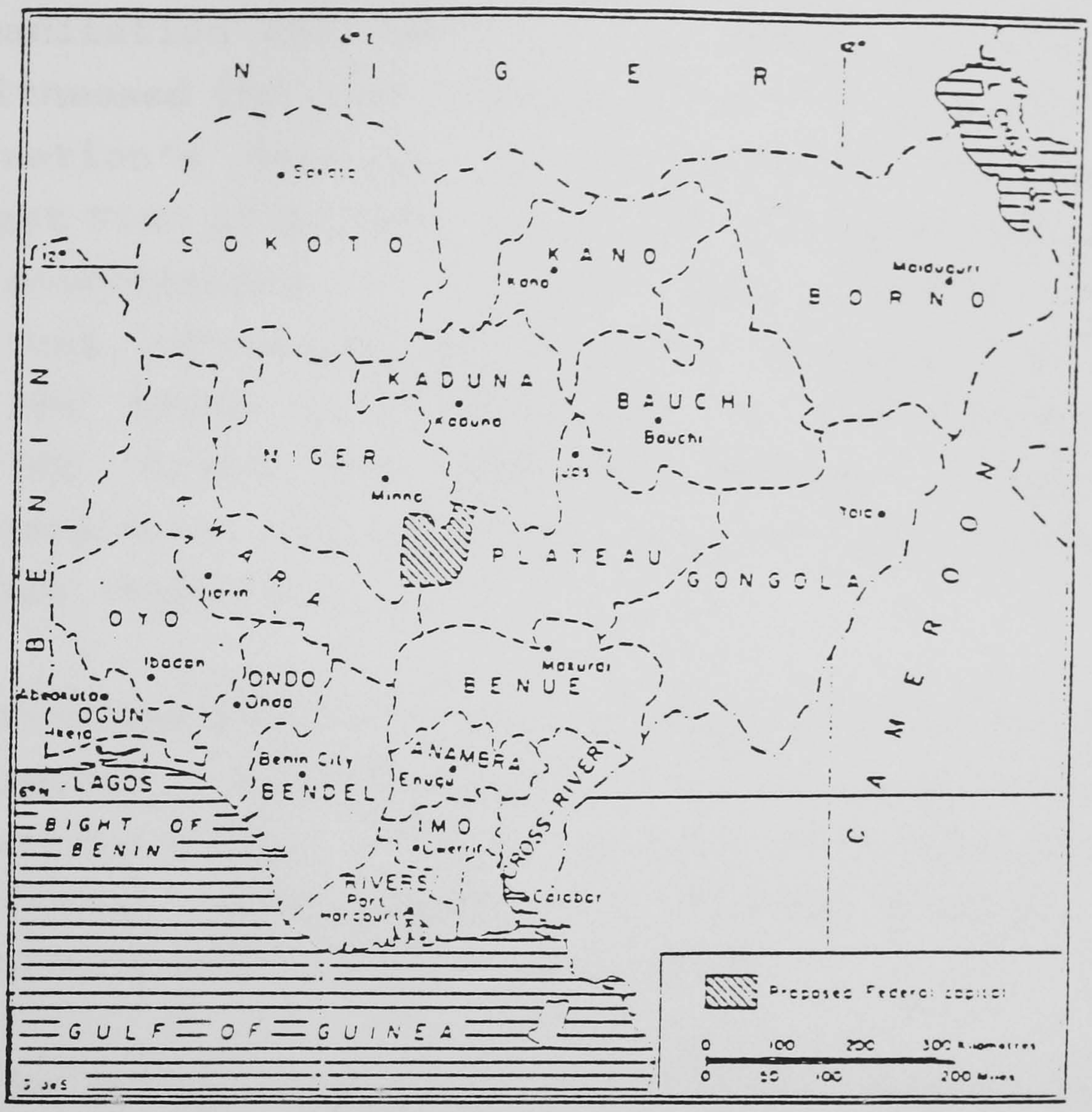
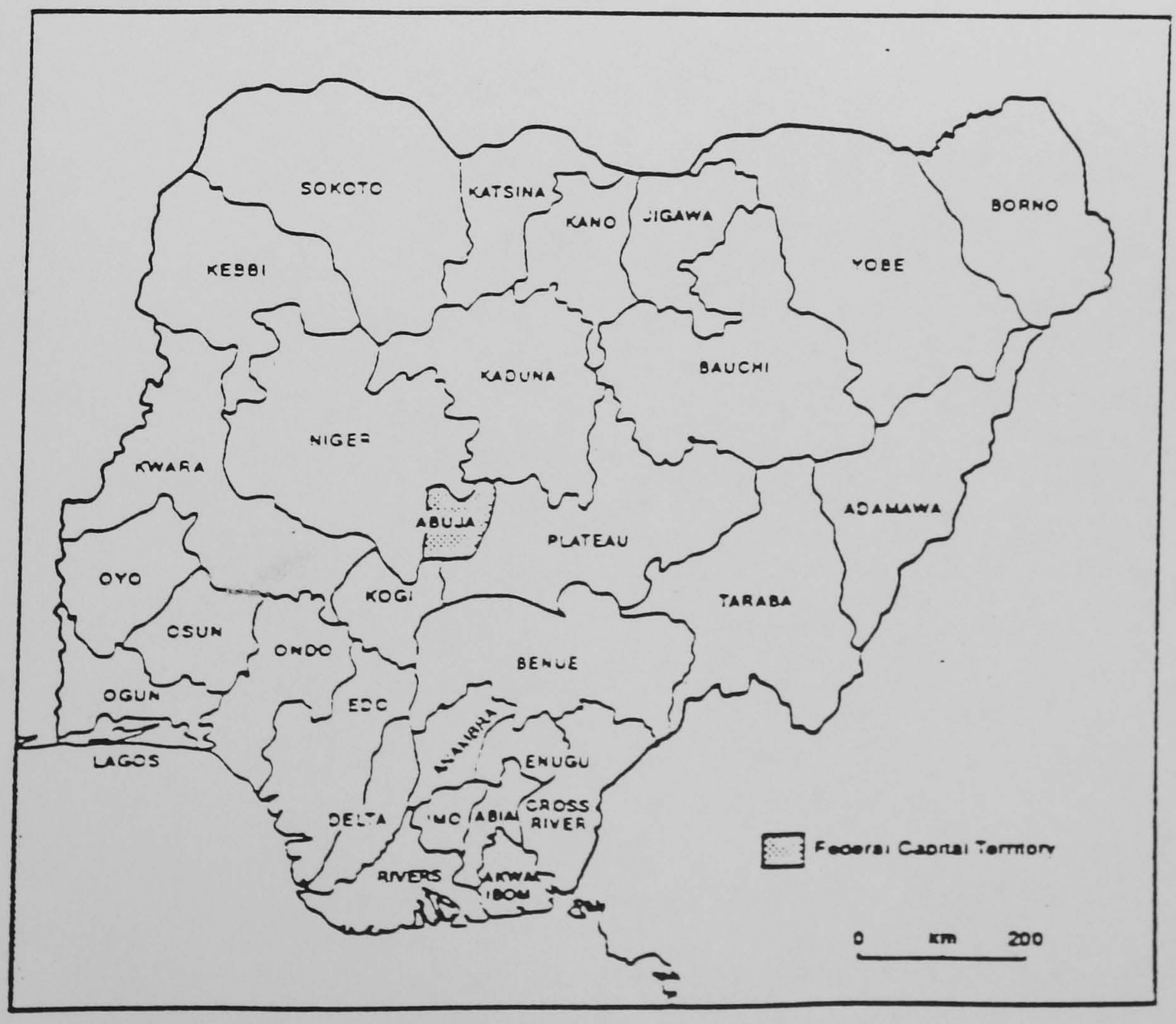


Figure 1.3 Nigeria: 30 state structure, 1991.
(Provisional state boundaries)



Thirdly and perhaps the most significant reason for Nigeria's fast pace urbanization was the oil boom decade of 1973 -1983. This period witnessed the most massive project development construction in the nation's history. As reflected in the Third National Development Plan 1975 -1980, universities, sports stadia, airports, federal secretariats in all the state capitals, dual carriage highways and interstate express road networks, and bridges that created new towns at bridgeheads and road junctions, housing estates (eg. Festac and Satellite villages in Lagos), cultural centre complexes, new state and federal capital cities etc. were constructed (Mabogunje, 1989).

Thus rural-urban migration was not only sustained but the magnitude of the migration streams made it more and more difficult for the urban areas to cope with the continued influx especially as regards the provision of adequate and decent housing, employment, infrastructure and other social services.

In order to better understand the scope of urban development in the country, the situation in colonial times, and the contemporary trends are discussed below.

Table 1.2. Nigeria: 30 state structure and local government areas, August 1991.

	STATE	CAPITAL	NUMBER OF LGAS	POPULATION 1991
1	ABIA	Umuahia	17	2,297,978
2	ADAMAWA	Yola	16	2,124,049
3	AKWA IBOM	Uyo	24	2,359,736
4	ANAMBRA	Awka	16	2,767,903
5	BAUCHI	Bauchi	23	4,294,413
6	BENUE	Makurdi	18	2,750,395
7	BORNO	Maiduguri	21	2,596,559
8	CROSS RIVER	Calabar	14	1,565,604
9	DELTA	Asaba	19	2,570,151
10	EDO	Benin city	14	2,159,545
11	ENUGU	Enugu	19	3,161,295
12	IMO	Owerri	21	2,455,499
13	JIGAWA	Dutse	21	2,529,929
14	KADUNA	Kaduna	18	3,969,252
15	KANO	Kano	34	5,632,040
16	KATSINA	Katsina	26	3,878,344
17	KEBBI	Birnin Kebbi	16	2,062,226
18	KOGI	Lokoja	16	2,099,046
19	KWARA	Ilorin	12	1,566,469
20	LAGOS	Ikeja	15	5,685,781
21	NIGER	Minna	19	2,482,367
22	OGUN	Abeokuta	15	2,338,570
23	ONDO	Akure	26	3,884,465
24	OSUN	Oshogbo	23	2,203,016
25	OYO	Ibadan	25	3,488,789
26	PLATEAU	Jos	23	3,283,704
27	RIVERS	Port Harcourt	24	3,983,557
28	SOKOTO	Sokoto	26	4,392,391
29	TARABA	Jalingo	12	1,480,590
30	YOBE	Damaturu	12	1,411,451
FCT	ABUJA	Abuja	4	375,671
TOTAL			589	88,514,501

SOURCE: Nigeria Newsletter, September-December 1991, London.
Federal Government of Nigeria, 1991 population census.

1.2. NIGERIAN URBANIZATION IN COLONIAL TIMES.

The urban scene in Nigeria during the colonial era was orchestrated by the whims of the colonial administrators. The township ordinance which was in force until the culmination of the second world war, provided for the creation, constitution and administration of all towns and municipalities in Nigeria, except for native towns whose homogeneous populations were placed under a native administration. Lagos was the only first class township under this ordinance. The second and third class townships under that classification are shown in table 1.3.

Adopting Onibokun's classification (table 1.4), only 4.8% of the country's population could be considered as urban in 1921 and then only 10 cities had a population of 20,000 or more. By 1931 the urban population increased slightly to *6.7%, 24* cities had attained a population of 20,000 or more and 2 were now over 100,000. Another slight increase was registered in 1952/54 with 10.2% or 3, 701,000 of the country's population now urban, 54 cities now had population of 20,000, and 24 100,000, but non had attained the 500,000 mark. During the colonial era, urbanization in the country was influenced in three major respects:

1. The creation of new towns, principally along the major transportation routes, notably the railways, ports and mining camps.

Table 1.3. SECOND CLASS TOWNSHIPS (1919)

Southern Provinces.

1. Aba
2. Abeokuta
3. Calabar
4. Enugu Ngwo
5. Forcados
6. Ibadan
7. Itu
8. Onitsha
9. Opoko
10. Port Harcourt
11. Sapele
12. Warri

Northern Provinces

1. Ilorin
2. Kaduna
3. Kano
4. Lokoja
5. Minna
6. Zaria

THIRD CLASS TOWNSHIPS (1919)

Southern Provinces.

1. Aba
2. Abak
3. Abakaliki
4. Ado
5. Afikpo
6. Agbor
7. Ahoada
8. Arochukwu
9. Asaba
10. Awka
11. Badagri
12. Benin
13. Bonny
14. Brass
15. Burutu
16. Degema
17. Eket
18. Epe
19. Ife
20. Ijebu Ode
21. Ikom
22. Ikorodu
23. Ikot Ekpene
24. Ilaro
25. Koko
26. Kwale
27. Obubra
28. Obudu
29. Ogoja
30. Ogwashi
31. Okigwi
32. Omohia
33. Ondo
34. Oron
35. Owerri
36. Ubiaja
37. Uyo
38. Uzuakoli

Northern Provinces.

1. Abiusi
2. Ankpa
3. Baro
4. Bauchi
5. Bida
6. Ibi
7. Jebba
8. Kontagora
9. Maiduguri
10. Offa
11. Sokoto
12. Zungeru

SOURCE : Mabogunje, A.L. (1968) Urbanization in Nigeria. pp.113. Oxford university press.

2. The modernization of the physical structure of the existing towns and introduction of modern urban utilities.

3. And the expansion of the urban economic base through the establishment of modern commercial and industrial enterprises.

Table 1.4. Growth of Nigerian urban population 1921-84.

YEAR	Total population (000)	Urban population		Number of cities whose population is		
		Number	% of total population	20,000 or more	100,000 or more	500,000 or more
1921	18,720	890	4.8	10	-	-
1931	20,056	1,343	6.7	24	2	-
1952/54	30,402	3,701	10.2	54	7	-
1963	55,670	10,702	19.2	183	24	2
1972	78,927	19,832	25.1	302	38	3
1984*	96,684	31,906	33.0	356	62	14

SOURCE: Adapted from Onibokun, A. G. (1989) " Urban growth and management in Nigeria." in Stren, R.E. and White, R.R. (eds) African cities in crisis: Managing rapid urban growth. pp.70. Westview press.

* The 1991 census figures show these figures as inflated.

1.3. CONTEMPORARY URBAN TRENDS.

Nigeria is the most populous and among the most urbanized of countries in sub-saharan Africa. With an extensive land area of 923,768 sq.km (357,000 sq.miles), it has the largest population (88.5 million, 1991 census) on the African continent and the 10th largest in the world (see table 1.5).

Even though its urban areas represent less than 10% of the land area of the country, they accommodate 30% of the population, while its urban growth rate is 3 to 5 times greater than the rural rate of growth (Taylor, 1987).

Nigeria's population growth has been massive and perhaps unprecedented in the last few decades. The total population of 16 million in 1911 rose rapidly to 30.4 million in 1952 and increased to about 55.7 million in 1963 (an intercensal increase of 83.1%), and 88.5 million (Federal Government of Nigeria, 1991 Population census,) in 1991. The population of urban centres of 5,000 and above also increased from 5.5 million to 31.1 million during the same period (an intercensal increase of 464%). The increase in the number of towns was equally impressive. While in 1952/3 there were only 56 cities of more than 20,000 people, by 1963 the number had increased to 182. Smaller towns of 10,000-19,999 population increased from 73 in 1952 to 573 in 1963, while those in the 5000-9,999 category increased from 177 to 1,808 during the same period

(Alao and Adegbola, 1978). The urban component of the population thus increased from 11% in 1952 to 16% in 1963, 20% in 1978 and 30% in 1984 (Okpala, 1990).

As indicated above, the 1963 population census identified 182 urban centres (with population of 20,000 and above) even though the validity of the figures remain suspect. The number of urban centres in Nigeria has experienced a spurt since then. The primary reason has been the changes in the political framework of the country in the increase of LGAs and states, as indicated earlier. Each exercise is accompanied by the designation of comparative more or less small-sized towns in some cases to serve as capital cities. In 1989 the number of local government areas (LGAs) became 453 and 589 in 1991 (Table 1.2). Each LGA has an administrative headquarters which has local council, state and Federal government ministries and other complementary establishments, such as residential districts, roads and other basic infrastructure. These centres therefore become urban points as people are attracted into them and the city expands along the framework initially laid down by public investments and infrastructural improvements. Thus the location and nucleus of Nigerian urbanization and urban centres are in the main administration based (Okpala, 1984). This is in the sense, as already indicated, that most contemporary Nigerian cities started and grew as administrative centres of some sort. This administrative capital could be a national, regional, state, provincial, divisional, district, or local government headquarters,

or as headquarters for other functions, for instance university towns.

The UN (1986) has estimated that there are 27 urban centres with populations exceeding 100,000 in Nigeria (Table 1.7), with only Lagos as the millionaire city. According to Akinbode (Daily Sketch, 15/1/1985) there are four spatial clusters of city systems in Nigeria. These are the south-western loop culminating in the Lagos metropolis and Ibadan; the south-eastern triangular cluster embracing Port Harcourt, Onitsha and Enugu (with Calabar and Aba as outposts); the Kano-Zaria-Kaduna axis in the north; and the recent Benin-Sapele-Warri nucleus in Bendel State. There is thus the inter-linking of some closely located and sprawling urban centres in those parts of the country that are most favoured for industry and by population movements, because of the spread and decentralization of urban centres (Ajaegbu, 1976).

Throughout the country the annual urban growth rate is estimated to be between 6 and 10%, while Lagos (the capital city prior 1991) shows an annual growth rate of 7%, with its population doubling every ten years (Taylor, 1987). The spatial urban pattern shows a preponderance of urban centres in western Nigeria. Of the 27 large urban centres (100,000 and above) identified by the UN, 14 are found in this area. This can be attributed to the early urban traits characteristic of this region (Mabogunje, 1968), as well as the influence and economic advantage of Lagos as national capital

Table 1.5. The population of Nigeria: A comparison with some other African countries.

COUNTRY	POPULATION (m)	RANKING	%URBAN, 1984
Algeria	24.3	9	47
Cameroon	11	15	41
Cote d'Ivoire	11	14	46
Egypt	50	2	33
Ethiopia	47	3	15
Ghana	14	13	39
Kenya	22	10	18
Morocco	24.4	8	46
Mozambique	15	12	16
Nigeria	88.5	1	30
South Africa	34	4	56
Sudan	24.5	7	21
Tanzania	25	6	14
Uganda	16	11	7
Zaire	33	5	39

SOURCE: Adapted from i) World bank, World development reports, 1989,90;
ii) World bank, Social indices of development, 1988;
iii) Mabogunje, A. L. (1989) The development process: A spatial perspective. 2nd edition, pp.178.

iv) Federal Government of Nigeria, 1991 census. Provisional figures.

Table 1.6. GROWTH OF MEDIUM -SIZED TOWNS IN NIGERIA, 1963-1983.

STATE	1963	1983
ANAMBRA	-	8
BAUCHI	2	4
BENDEL	2	4
BENUE	2	5
BORNO	-	3
CROSS RIVER	1	6
GONGOLA	-	3
IMO	-	7
KADUNA	1	4
KANO	-	4
KWARA	1	5
LAGOS	2	4
NIGER	2	4
OGUN	2	4
ONDO	7	9
OYO	6	10
PLATEAU	2	5
RIVERS	-	6
SOKOTO	2	7
TOTAL	32	102

SOURCE:
1. Federal office of statistics, Annual abstract of statistics, 1983 edition.
2. Okafor, F.C (1988) "The role of medium-sized centres in national development" *African Urban Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 3&4, p.256.

and port city. Until recently Lagos alone accounted for over 70% of all industrial establishments in Nigeria (Udo, 1976). It is very highly unlikely that the movement of the seat of government to Abuja in the central heartland of the country will change this gross imbalance in the near future.

Table 1.7. Population of cities of 100,000 and more inhabitants in Nigeria.

TOWN	POPULATION
1. Aba	177,000
2. Abeokuta	253,000
3. Ado Ekiti	213,000
4. Benin	136,000
5. Calabar	103,000
6. Ede	182,000
7. Enugu	187,000
8. Ibadan	847,000
9. Ife	176,000
10. Ikere-Ekiti	145,000
11. Ila	155,000
12. Ilesha	224,000
13. Ilorin	282,000
14. Iseyin	115,083
15. Iwo	214,000

16. Kaduna	202,000
17. Kano	399,000
18. Katsina	109,424
19. Lagos	1,060,848
20. Maiduguri	189,000
21. Mushin	197,000
22. Ogbomosho	432,000
23. Onitsha	220,000
24. Oshogbo	282,000
25. Oyo	152,000
26. Port Harcourt	242,000
27. Zaria	224,000

SOURCE: UN demographic yearbook, 1986, pp.263.

In eastern Nigeria the urban concentration remains in the capital cities of Enugu, Port Harcourt, Calabar, Owerri, Uyo and very recently Awka and Umuahia. The commercial towns of Onitsha and Aba are also significant. This region especially the Imo-Anambra area is the most highly densely populated area in the country. The near absence of many major urban centres other than state capitals remains a contentious issue. It has been indicated (Peil and Sada 1986, Ajaegbu 1978) that the Ibo (the major ethnic group) are among the most migratory people in the country and constitute large proportions of migrant populations in most urban centres in other parts of the country.

1.4. THE STUDY PROBLEM.

Nigerian urbanization especially since independence in 1960, has been at a fast pace made possible by urban sectoral bias in governmental development policies and the oil boom of the 1970s and early 1980s. This urban sectoral bias has seen the widening of the developmental gap between urban and rural areas in the country (table 1.8).

A proliferation of projects and hence new urban jobs painted a rosy picture of urban areas into which people moved en masse. Massive importation of luxury items during the boom era created a false impression of inexhaustible wealth and food resulting in rural agricultural neglect and depopulation (Watts, 1987).

Various administrative restructurings saw the increase from a three regional structure in 1960 to four regions in 1963. On adoption of a federal system of government, a twelve state structure evolved in 1967. The number of states were increased to 19 in 1976, 21 in 1987 and further to 30 in 1991. Local government reforms saw the birth of 453 local government areas (LGA) in 1989, and increased to 589 in 1991 all with mainly urban centres as headquaters. In addition a new capital city was created in 1978.

All these policies albeit unconsciously have sustained and maintained Nigeria's fast pace of urbanization. For instance the establishment of ten new federal universities at once in 1976 from an initial six not only created new university towns in erstwhile uninhabited sites but also swelled the urban population of centres that were already urban. Most states also built and are still building individual universities and polytechnics, sometimes in completely uninhabited areas, or converting some existing institution. Furthermore, new road development assisted the proliferation of road junction and bridgehead towns as rural access was improved.

Table 1.8 Economic and social indicators of rural-urban development gap in Nigeria 1983/84.

INDICATORS	RURAL	URBAN
Literacy rate	23	51
Average monthly household income	N183	N226
Unemployment	2.4	7.3
Underemployment	7.0	5.0
Earning less than N200 per month (%)	86	64
Access to pipe borne water (%)	8	69
Access to electricity(%)	8	75
Good dwelling (cement blocks)	19	44
Health status: a) Illness rate (per 1000) b) Child mortality (per 1000)	 94 183	 74 92

Source: Federal office of statistics: National integrated survey of households 1983/84. Lagos, December 1984.

Urban births remained high as child mortality rates declined in the face of improved healthcare delivery, and a higher life expectancy of 51 was achieved (UNICEF, 1991).

This fast pace of urbanization, has created numerous inadequacies in urban areas such as acute traffic congestion resulting from inefficient transport systems, poor sewage treatment and other

effluents disposal, inadequate housing provision exhibited in slums, spontaneous or squatter settlements. In the mid 70s for instance, housing deficit was estimated at over 1 million units (Hirse,1986). Other problems are high rates of unemployment variously manifested in open unemployment, underemployment, misemployment or hidden unemployment, and the stop-gap provision of social services such as water, electricity, and health facilities (Gugler,1987). Mabogunje (1978) has labelled these problems as those of serviceability, manageability, liveability etc. The consequences are an enormous strain on the urban support systems generally as plans to assuage the lapses have failed in most cases abysmally right across the spectrum.

In the face of this malaise it is inexplicable, yet true that the Nigerian government does not have an articulated urban policy. A population policy was only enacted in 1988. As contended by Alao and Adegbola (1978) for instance, state creation "affected a geographical diffusion of opportunities and complicated the pattern of flow of migrants". They also point out that government actions "have never coincided with any deliberate territorial policy aimed at redistributing the population in such a way as to ensure orderly growth of urban centres." However the government has at various times attempted to arrest some of these grave urban problems. For example, the Shagari administration of 1979-1983 attempted to improve the urban housing situation in the whole country by embarking on a massive construction of low income houses. 40,000 housing units were earmarked to be built, 2,000 in each state and Abuja. But the achievement level was less than 20%. In the same vein the state governments have individual housing corporations, or urban development boards, yet successes are only marginal as these agencies face cash flow difficulties as well as political and ethnic constraints (Dawam,1984).

Even in the face of this mass of urban problems, rural-urban migration does not seem to abate. There is also very noticeable

rural impoverishment and stagnation even though government has through various programmes attempted to alleviate rural poverty (policy programmes directed at source regions or the origins of migrants). Other policy programmes have focused on the destination areas or on the migrants themselves, such as the National directorate of employment (NDE). These programmes aimed at rural development in Nigeria include the Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs), River Basins and Rural Development Authorities established in 1978, and more recently the Directorate of food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFFRI), and the Better life programme for rural women. There is also the agricultural development fund (funded partly by the World bank and the state governments), which is disbursed through the newly established community and cooperative banks. These aim to mobilize rural community savings with a view to enhance rural incomes. But most of the programmes have failed abysmally with very few exceptions if any. This could be attributed to the lack of community participation in both the articulation and the implementation of the programmes. Thus these efforts of development have mainly been 'from above' or 'top down' in perspective, without any 'bottom up' contribution.

However, rural-urban links remain fostered, made more so by the intrinsic culturally sustained extended family system. In fact migration in Africa has been construed as a household rather than an individual decision process, wherein the family makes migratory decisions (Adepoju, 1988). It is from this perspective that the key role of the family in migration and urbanization in Africa generally and Nigeria in particular needs further study and investigation.

Existing studies indicate trickling down effects in cash, savings, and gifts from urbanites to their rural kin and homes, with reciprocal food movements from the ruralites to their urban folk. These bonds prosper with the aid of cultural and community

developmental associations in the urban areas. According to McNulty (1985) "the city and countryside seem inextricably bound to one another." Moreover these ties seem to have attained greater importance now than in the past as government now recognises that she cannot alone bear the cost of development in urban and rural areas alike.

1.5. **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY.**

As a contribution to the greater understanding of the urbanization process described above, this research seeks to explore rural-urban links among immigrants into Calabar generally and those from Obudu particularly. The focus on Obudu arises from the fact that this is the author's home region, allowing him to utilize local knowledge, including proficiency in local languages, and local contacts to a degree which would be difficult for an outsider. The study aims primarily to :

i. Ascertain urban-rural interaction and linkages between migrants in Calabar as a major urban area in the state, and their rural areas of origin;

ii. Determine the aspects of urban-rural interaction in Calabar and Obudu in Cross River state;

iii. Access the modes of organization of interaction among Obudu indigenes in Calabar;

iv. Access the modes of organization of interaction in Obudu;

v. A comparison of the above vis-a-vis other developmental influences in Obudu;

vi. In the light of Obudu-Calabar interaction, ascertain those impulses and influences, from the point of view of the prospective development of Obudu.

1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY.

The study is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one is general introduction setting out the pattern and trends of contemporary urbanization in Nigeria, the study problem, and aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter two is a review of relevant aspects of the literature, while chapter three deals with the models and concepts in urbanization, migration and urban-rural interaction with a focus on Nigeria and selected relevant examples.

The geographical aspects of the study area- Cross River State, is the focus of chapter four.

Chapter five outlines the research methodology and data collection procedures.

Results of the urban survey in Calabar are discussed in chapter six, while the rural survey in Obudu LGA is described and analysed in chapter seven.

Chapter eight is a general conclusion. A summary of the major findings are presented, while areas for further future research perspectives, prospects and enhancement are outlined.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION IN NIGERIA.

2.1. INTRODUCTION.

A precise definition of urbanization is elusive. Simply put, it is the process of spatial human agglomeration. Urbanization varies with the part of the world and period of time under consideration, and it is a multi-faceted phenomenon. Third world aspects of urbanization for instance are inclusive of rapid urban growth; the relatioship between the urban and rural sector; rural-urban migration; urban housing; the question of survival strategies in the city; forms of integration and social control; as well as urban politics (Gugler, 1988). Of similar importance are urban demographic changes; industrialization and urban primacy.

But what is an urban centre ? In Wirth (1938:8) 'Urbanizm as a way of life' an urban centre is defined as:

> 'a relatively large dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals'.

From this perspective an urban area could be a town or city; all of which have various dimensions and connotations among different countries, and in the literature. In Nigeria for instance a settlement with 20,000 or more people is considered urban. According to Fischer (1976:17) a city in a western culture is:

> 'a montage of mixed and clashing elements,...of personal freedom and boundless hopes; of variety, choice, excitement; of callous and uncaring people; of social groups diverse enough to satisfy each individual's unique needs; of crass and crushing materialism; of experiment, innovation and creativity; of anxious days and fruitful nights.'

Other authors have included several other factors to fit the description urban; such as autonomy and community (Weber, 1947), a literate elite (Childe and Sjoberg, 1960) and stimulus to social movements and class conflicts (Castells, 1977). It is however imperative to understand that urbanization has diverse meanings to different people and is a reflection of their political, cultural, and environmental backgrounds and origins, especially for people of the developing world.

According to Caldwell (1969: 140), "There is no clear division between urban and rural population" in any tropical African country, thus explanations of urban patterns must be sought in the rural areas (O'Connor, 1986). The latter further maintains that though the city rules over the countryside in most parts of Africa, yet they are deeply bound and rooted with peasant societies. It is in this light that internal migration as an aspect of urbanization in Nigeria could be viewed. Within the rural-urban dichotomy in Nigeria the interlinkages are also very fundamental.

2.2. INTERNAL MIGRATION IN NIGERIAN URBANIZATION.

Migration in Nigeria varies in its extent, nature, causes and consequences. Migration patterns are complex. On the basis of the 1952/53 census data, Mabogunje (1970a) identified the main orientation of migration movements to be south (which is considered relatively more developed) to north as southerners (mainly Ibos and Yorubas) moved into the developing northern cities of Kaduna, Zaria, Yola, Maiduguri, Jos and Kano (Udo, 1975). Even within the north, there was movement from these more developed core areas covering Kano, Katsina, Bauchi, Zaria and Plateau provinces to the less developed periphery areas. There was also centrifugal migration in the south east with a core area around the densely populated Onitsha, Orlu and Owerri. The Yoruba region in the south west also experienced movement from the high population density areas of Ondo, Ibadan and Ijebu to the less

dense periphery and northwards. Fields of migration in the country according to O'Connor (1986), often expand and overlap increasingly especially with improved communications as exemplified by Lagos, and general socio-economic development, although the migration fields of other cities may now be smaller than in the past and overlap less. He further suggests that with spread in education, the rural economy stagnates, while the urge to move into town becomes more widespread, leading to a reduction in the average distance of movement. A circular process could also be at play, where the rural dwellers around a town dominate the flow of in-migrants as they increasingly regard it as "their" town.

The movement of migrants to Abuja the new capital city, as new opportunities and jobs are created, provides a new pattern and significant dimension in cityward migration in Nigeria. State capital cities as focal points of investment have also become major attractions for migrants.

Also Green (1974) notes the great diversity among Nigerian towns in demographic structure reflecting sharp contrasts in respect of past and present migration patterns. For instance, while there was an increase in the recorded population of municipal Lagos from 272,000 in 1952 to 665,000 in 1963 showing a net inflow of at least 200,000 people, a further net inflow of over 200,000 was shown for areas outside the city boundaries such as Shomolu, Mushin and Ajeromi. With the increasing centralization of many aspects of national life in Lagos, and the attendant oil boom of the late seventies and early eighties, the urban economy received a boost, levelling off the net inflow at around 50,000 a year in the 1970's.

Kaduna, Calabar and Jos as examples have experienced similar circumstances to that of cities of colonial origin elsewhere. Lock (1967) showed that only 31% of the 1965 population of Kaduna, and only 7% of the adults were born locally, and that most adults had arrived since 1960. The work of Plotnicov (1967)

also shows a preponderance of migrants in Jos.

In the late 1960's, the eastern Nigerian towns of Enugu, Onitsha, Aba, Port Harcourt, and to a lesser degree Calabar, received an influx of migrants as a result of the Ibo withdrawal from northern Nigeria due to the civil war (1967-70). There is little evidence of any recent net migration into the old towns of northern and south-western Nigeria, thus people who have moved into urban areas of Katsina, Oyo and Ogbomosho are probably outnumbered by out-migrants. Ibadan has only experienced modest in-migration in recent years (O'Connor, 1986), maybe due to the decline in the cocoa trade and the increasing influence and attraction of nearby Lagos. For western Nigeria, Berry (1975) has suggested that there has been a substantial movement of farmers from homes in the old Yoruba towns to new homes on their farmlands. Thus while urban-rural movements could be considered common in respect of return migration, this is exceptionally a primary movement.

2.3. INTERNAL MIGRATION TYPOLOGY.

Four distinct types of internal migration are discernible; rural-rural, urban-rural, urban-urban and rural-urban. Other modes of migration that could be noted are census migration and multi-stage migration.

2.3.a. Rural-rural migration.

This is essentially an interregional phenomenon.

Ajaegbu (1976) classifies the major source regions in rural-rural migration as follows:

i. Areas of rapid (natural) population growth such as the Urhobo/Isoko area of Bendel state and the Ibo core area of Anambra and Imo states.

Table 2.1. Source regions and destinations of rural-rural migrants in Nigeria.

SOURCE REGION HOME OF MIGRANTS	POPULATION DENSITY (square km)	DESTINATION
1. Isu-Ibo area of Orlu and Okigwi divisions.	About 360.	1. Bende district 2. Oguta (Niger flood plains) 3. Abakaliki rice fields 4. Benin rubber Belt
2. Awka district	310	1. Mamu River floodplain 2. Niger-Anambra Plains 3. Asaba Division
3. Nsukka	310	1. Nike territory 2. Anambra Floodplains
4. Annang areas of Abak and Ikot Ekpene Divisions	290	1. Lower Cross River plains 2. Calabar-Ikang district 3. West Cameroon 4. Fernando Po
5. Udi District	200	1. Nike territory 2. Mamu River Floodplains 3. Abakaliki rice fields 4. Asaba Division
6. Kano closed settled farm zone	200	1. Bauchi Province 2. The Cocoa Belt 3. The Middle Niger Valley
7. Ezza Ibo area of Abakaliki	170	1. Nike territory 2. Bende District 3. Middle Cross River Plains 4. Ishielu District
8. Afikpo and Edda areas of Abakaliki	150	1. Cross River Plains at Enyong 2. Bende District 3. Eleme (near Port Harcourt)
9. Sokoto Home District	150	1. The Cocoa Belt 2. Upper Zamfara Valley
10. Igbira District	150	1. Afenmai Division 2. Ekiti Division 3. Oshun Division
11. Isoko district (Niger Delta)	80	1. Lower Niger Valley 2. Benin Rubber Belt 3. Ikeja and Ekpe Divisions
12. Bariba	40	1. The cocoa belt 2. Abeokuta district 3. Ikeja division

SOURCE: Udo, R.K. (1975) Migrant tenant farmers of Nigeria: A geographical study of rural migrations in Nigeria. African University press. p.37.

ii. Areas of great rural population densities such as the Ibo core area in Anambra and Imo states as well as Kano core area.

iii. Areas of low, deteriorating or decreasing resource base as in i. and ii. above and

iv. Areas of ecological difficulties such as areas of extensive gullying (Agulu-Nanka area), or areas of prolonged drought conditions (parts of the far north of Nigeria).

Udo (1975), concurs with Ajaegbu as indicated above and has provided a comprehensive overview of source regions and destinations of rural-rural migrants in the country (table 2.1). While indicating that such moves are caused by land shortages and severe population pressure on land in the source regions, the destination areas are sparsely populated areas. He concludes that these migrations can be seen as a process of population redistribution in the country in order to achieve some sort of balance between the number of people and available resources in rural Nigeria.

2.3.b. **Urban-rural/Return/Reverse migration/Counterurbanization.**

Fielding (1982), conceives of counterurbanization simply as the converse of urbanization. This is rather simplistic as the conceptualization of counterurbanization has raised significant problems. Dean et al (1984a) have categorized these difficulties as ambiguity, presupposition, reitification and parochialism. There is therefore the need to distinguish between 'decentralization' or suburbanization on the grand scale, as opposed to 'deconcentration' or longer-distance moves to other - and more rural - regions, as indicated by Randolph and Robert (1983). In support of this contention, it has been observed (Hamnett and Randolph 1982, Pumain 1983) that even in Europe, virtually the whole of the outward migration involves mere

'decentralisation' and only in a few cases, notably the United states, is 'deconcentration' the dominant factor.

It is in the light of this that reverse migration or counterurbanization must be viewed in Nigeria, as it is the least documented and least understood of all the movements in the country, although very massive (Sada, 1984). For instance, the relocation of federal capital from Lagos to Abuja (12th December, 1991), in the heart of the country may be merely 'decentralization', so also is the recent (27th August, 1991) creation of nine new additional states and 136 local government areas, where new urban centres are developed as state capitals and headquarters of LGAs respectively. It could also be construed solely as population redistribution.

Due to the recession which set in the early eighties, the movement of people out of urban areas back to their rural home areas has been on the increase as both government and other employees of labour in the urban centres have been compelled to shed staff. This has received further impetus with the government's privatization programme, involving over 1,000 government owned companies and parastatals.

"The reverse migration is a trickle now, but in the next few years it will be a tide." (Momoh, 1990: 13.). This statement by Momoh, a former Nigerian information minister 1988-90, perhaps aptly describes the present situation of reverse migration in the country, although the situation needs further study and investigation before the actual trends can be established.

2.3.c. Urban-urban migration.

Another important feature of internal migration in Nigeria is the inter-urban component. Due to the relatively elaborate urban system of the country, some of the people born outside a

particular city would have come in from another urban centre rather than from the countryside or rural hinterland. The creation of twelve states and hence new state capitals in 1976, created new opportunities for migrants and improved the links between medium sized towns to somewhat deflect the massive in-migration into Lagos to those state capitals. An additional two states in 1987 created a 21 state framework, bringing Uyo (Akwa Ibom state) and Katsina (Katsina state) into the expanding urban system. In August 1991 nine new states were created and nine urban centres designated as state capitals. These are Umuahia (Abia), Awka (Anambra), Asaba (Delta), Dutse (Jigawa), Birnin Kebbi (Kebbi), Lokoja (Kogi), Oshogbo (Osun), Jalingo (Taraba) and Damaturu (Yobe). (See table 1.6). Such administrative changes often involve massive relocation and movement of civil servants to those towns designated as new state capitals. For instance, after the creation of Akwa Ibom state over 75,000 civil servants moved from Calabar to Uyo. The government was only able to contain this massive influx by directing that civil servants so affected should commute from their home towns (the compactness of the state makes trip lengths less than 90 minutes from every part of the state to Uyo).

Due to both the administrative and business activities that will be attracted to these centres, their urban status will be enhanced, further diversifying inter-urban migration. An ILO survey for instance showed that many migrants into Lagos had lived previously in other towns, and the city also has a large proportion of long-term migrants (O'Connor, 1986).

The high population pressure experienced in the high density areas of the country such as the Ibo areas of Imo and Anambra states makes such inter-urban migration necessary. According to Peil and Sada (1984), whether their homeland has subsistence or cash crops, individual or communal land ownership, there is not enough land for all. This has meant that young people in such areas have little choice but to migrate, and as aptly described by Udo (1975 : 10), "from land-hungry to land-surplus areas."

The Ibo, both as government employees and as private traders and businessmen, created a complex trading network involving the towns of the south-east with the towns and cities of the north and elsewhere (Udo, 1964).

2.3.d. Rural- urban migration.

Mabogunje (1970) considers rural-urban migration as a basic transformation of the modal structure of a society in which people move from generally smaller agricultural communities to mainly larger nonagricultural ones. Furthermore, he contends that:

> "Apart from this spatial (or horizontal) dimension of the movement, there is also a socioeconomic (or vertical) dimension involving a permanent transformation of skills, attitudes, motivations and behaviourial patterns such that a migrant is enabled to break completely with his rural background and become entirely committed to urban existence. A permanence of transfer is thus the essence of the movement. Rural-urban migration also represents an essentially spatial concomitant of the economic development of a region."
>
> Mabogunje, A.L. (1970 : 2).

It is in this context that rural-urban migration in Nigeria can be viewed. Mabogunje contends further that although Africa is uniquely endowed to provide for important empirical evidence upon which to draw about this mode of migration, yet to a great extent attention has disproportionately been focused on seasonal and other non-permanent transfers of population from rural to urban areas, referred to as 'constant circulatory movement'.

The rate of rural-urban migration is due to rural-urban differentials in social, cultural and economic opportunities

(Sada, 1983). Because of the access which education provides to formal employment, education has also been identified as an important factor in rural-urban migration (Peil, 1981; Makinwa, 1981).

In the contemporary Nigerian situation rural-urban migration patterns show strong flows to the four main urban clusters which are the foci of administrative, commercial and industrial activities (Okafor, 1988). The foremost cluster is in the southwest of the country and consists of the city of Lagos, Ibadan and Abeokuta. In 1982 the population of these cities was estimated at 4 million, 3.8 million and 623,000 respectively (Onibokun, 1989). These cities together account for about 32% of the total commercial and industrial activities of the country. The second cluster comprises Port Harcourt, Aba, Enugu, and to a lesser degree Owerri, Calabar and Uyo. The influence of petroleum and the port has made the development of Port Harcourt very remarkable. The third cluster, is located in the northern heartland comprising Kano, Zaria, Kaduna and Jos. These towns are major centres of administration, commercial manufacturing and transport development in northern Nigeria. The fourth cluster is made up of Benin, Sapele and Warri. The later also owes its growth to the development of petroleum and associated industries and commerce, where its population of 55,254 in 1963 rose to 150,000 in 1980 (Ayeni, 1983).

The oil boom (1973-83) however paradoxical, made it possible for the development of the country's road network linking the major urban centres. Express roads (Lagos-Ibadan-Benin, Kano-Kaduna, Enugu-Owerri, Calabar-Uyo etc) with recently built toll gates are now a common feature. Unfortunately, the boom was not aptly utilized to also develop the country's railway network which, built between 1895 and 1927 is a colonial legacy that contributed immensely to the growth of many towns during this period. The towns that were not linked in this manner, such as Calabar have experienced smaller rates of urban growth. During the period 1952/63, the national urban growth rate was 2.8%. Ilorin had the

highest rate of growth of 17.5% per annum followed by Lagos metropolis with 13.5% and Port Harcourt 10.5%. Warri, Kano, and the Aba/Onitsha/Enugu region also had high growth rates of 8.7%, 7.6% and 7.3% respectively.

The concept of 'allometric growth' where major urban centres grow much faster than the smaller ones, holds true for Nigeria (Makinwa, 1980). She notes that at the diffusion-dispersion stage of the migration-urbanization process, the extended family acts as a 'motive force' which ensures that urban centres with large migrant population attract an increasing proportion of new migrants. The family network fosters migrant concentration in the following ways:

a) Serving as the primary source of favourable information,

b) Providing support facilities in terms of food and shelter,

c) Helping to locate suitable employment or apprenticeship and

d) Through ethnic concentration in urban neighbourhoods, a comfortable cultural milieu is provided for the new migrants.

The pattern of rural-urban migration has also been realigned through political changes, in new local government and states creation. The new towns because of their addded status have now become centres of migrant, commerce and business attraction.

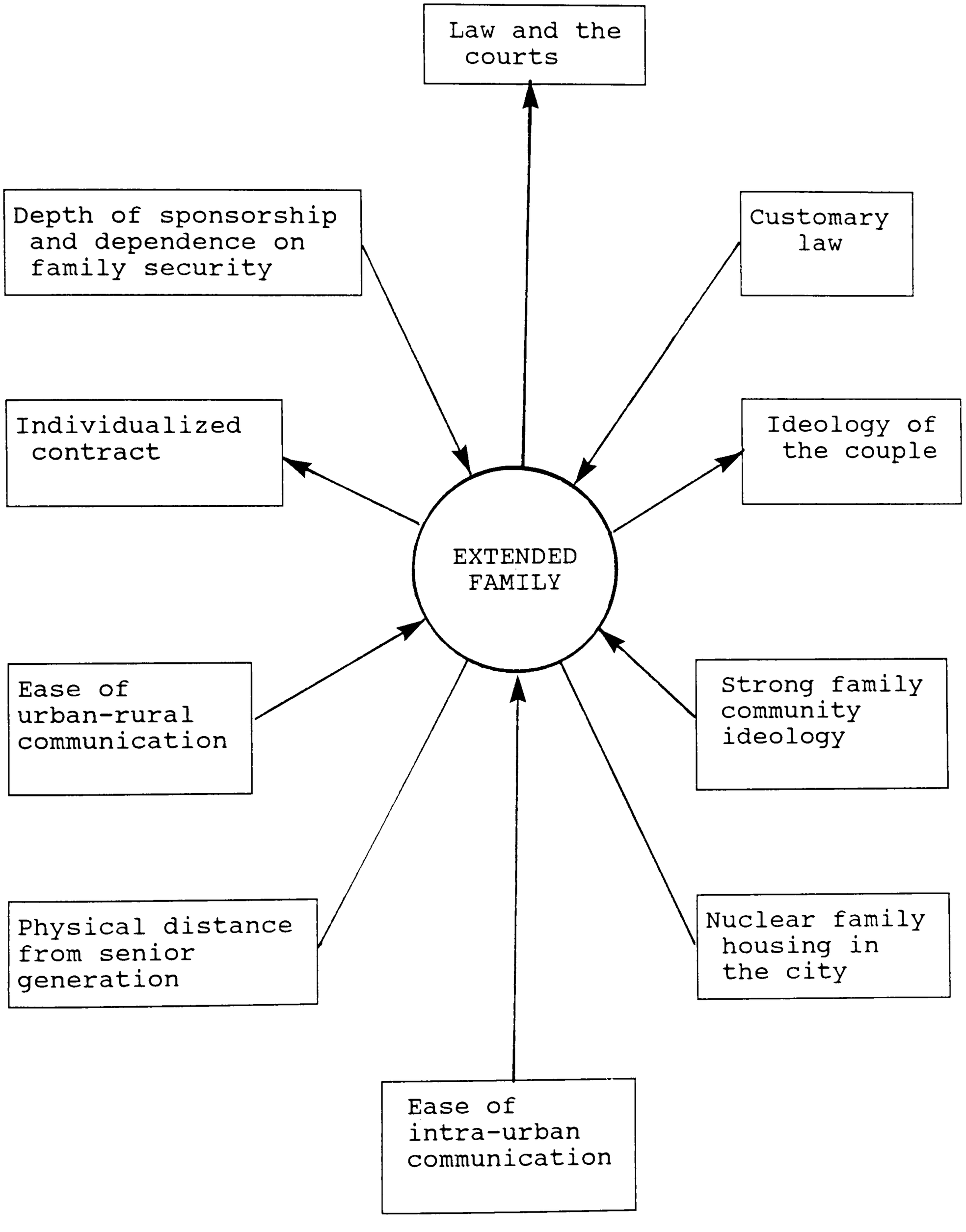
Table 2.2 Population growth of some Nigerian cities, 1952-1984.

CITY	1952	1963	1972	1982	1984
Lagos	267,407	665,246	1,568,650	4,068,578	4,485,607
Ibadan	459,158	627,379	1,479,359	3,836,987	4,230,278
Ogbomosho	139,535	319,881	496,231	808,339	891,194
Kano	127,204	295,432	578,338	1,500,056	1,653,812
Oshogbo	122,728	208,966	324,169	528,057	582,185
Ile-Ife	110,790	130,850	201,747	328,636	362,321
Iwo	100,006	158,583	246,010	400,729	441,815
Abeokuta	84,451	187,292	290,546	623,686	689,819
Onitsha	76,921	162,032	252,912	411,982	454,210
Oyo	72,133	112,349	174,287	283,906	313,006
Ilesha	72,029	105,822	257,240	419,032	461,983
Port Harcourt	71,634	179,563	351,513	911,731	1,005,183
Enugu	62,764	138,459	326,482	846,789	933,585
Aba	57,787	131,965	203,225	331,045	364,977
Maiduguri	56,740	139,965	273,995	710,672	783,201
Zaria	53,974	166,170	257,780	419,912	462,953
Benin	53,753	100,694	197,119	511,274	563,680
Katsina	52,672	98,538	140,452	228,790	252,241
Sokoto	51,986	89,817	175,826	455,046	502,791
Iseyin	49,220	95,220	147,715	240,621	265,285
Calabar	46,905	76,418	149,596	388,012	427,783
Ede	44,808	134,440	208,727	340,008	374,859
Kaduna	44,540	149,910	353,488	916,488	1,010,811
Ilorin	44,994	208,546	408,250	1,058,892	1,167,428
Akure	38,853	71,106	110,307	237,544	261,892
Jos	38,527	90,402	176,971	459,016	506,065
Ikere-Ekiti	35,584	107,214	166,824	289,817	319,523
Ila	25,745	157,579	244,359	398,051	438,943
Ado-Ekiti	24,646	157,579	244,359	398,051	438,851
Minna	21,636	27,130	93,059	200,402	220,943

SOURCE: Onibokun, A. G. (1989) "Urban growth and management in Nigeria." in Stren, R.E and White, R.R. (eds) African cities in crises: Managing rapid urban growth, pp.78. Westview press.

FIGURE 2.1

A model of forces that support and strain the extended family system.



Source: Adopted from Gugler and Flanagan, 1978.

Table 2.3. Urban growth in some Nigerian towns.

TOWN/REGION	POPULATION GROWTH RATE 1952/63
Ilorin	17.5
Lagos (metropolis)	13.5
Port Harcourt	10.5
Warri	8.7
Kano	7.6
Aba/Onitsha/Enugu region	7.3
Kaduna/Zaria region	6.0
Benin	5.3
Ife-Ilesha region	5.0
Ibadan	3.0
NATIONAL RATE	2.8

SOURCE: Adapted from Green, H.A.(1977) "The spatial pattern of Nigerian urban development: Some policy implications." p.110.

2.3.e. MULTI-STAGE MIGRATION.

This involves the movements characterized by the interactions between migrants and destination-based contacts. Broadly it can be subdivided into delayed family migration and serial migration. The former occurs when family members relocate from origin to destination in lagged stages (Banergee, 1983). Generally one or a few members of the family migrates first, while the others follow after the initial mover has established himself at the destination point. The followers may move as dependents of the initial mover or with the explicit intention of entering the

urban labour force. The eventual movers may not only be spouse and children, but may include brothers or parents, as well as other relatives.

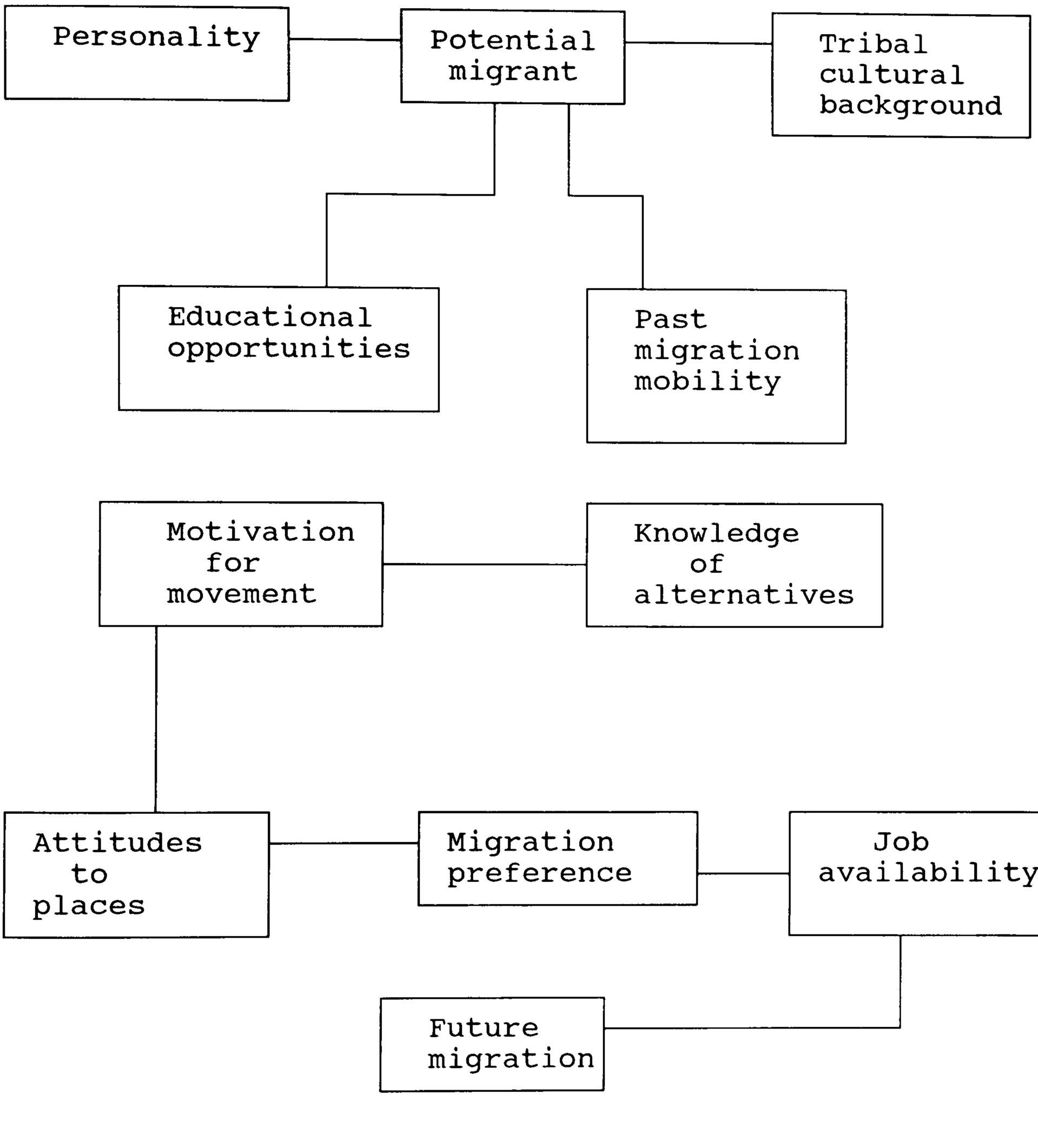
Conversely, serial migration involves interactions between individuals who are not members of the same family. Such destination-based contacts are extra-familial relatives or non related persons who may however be known to the migrants or their families. In serial migration, the migration stream usually consists entirely of labour migrants.

2.4. DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNAL MIGRATION.

The process of causality in migration needs a framework that identifies and links the interrelated salient multiple variables especially from the policy perspective (Bell, 1979 figure 2.2). This is more so as it is only in understanding the underlying causes that the undesirable consequences of the phenomenon can be alleviated. Perhaps Mitchell's (1959) assessment where economic motives are accorded a higher position and all others subsumed under a residual category of personal factors needs to be redressed. Rural-urban differentials 'push and pull' continue to lure ruralites to urban areas even though they do not easily secure urban employment. This according to Hopkins (1973) is because the migrants fail to appreciate the difficulty of obtaining urban jobs and refuse to return home for fear of the humiliation of returning in poverty. But the city is like 'a magnet' (Ross 1973:39).

Studies by Caldwell (1969) in the predominantly immigrant areas of Accra-Tema Sekondi-Takoradi, Cape coast and Kumasi however give credence to another contention that potential migrants do not have failed expectations. In fact to Gugler (1969b), it is a lottery where urban migrants participate in an economy game.

Fig.2.2 Factors influencing the decision to migrate.
Adopted from Bell (1979) p.90.



This seems to confirm the findings of Aronson (1979) about the Ijebu of Yorubaland in western Nigeria. He found that Ijebu men "have reasonable expectations that they are not necessarily going to work, yet they come anyway in order to put themselves into positions in which they perceive they will be able to take advantage of any opportunity which does come their way...The process of getting a start in the city, therefore, involves finding a legitimate 'pursuit' rather than a job which might turn out to be permanent"

Research on linkages through urban-rural interaction in Nigeria is an area where very little precise data are available. However some migration studies have investigated remittances and visits between urban and rural areas, as well as case studies of local food supplies to cities. Specifically however, the basic question: whether the multiplex links of urban centres with the rural areas is beneficial to rural dwellers or whether urban areas instead prosper at their expense as it could be disruptive to the economy and the social organization of the source areas remains unanswered and merely speculative. Amin (1974:106/7) for instance contends that areas of out-migration remain worse off. He maintains that "no single region of out-migration has ever developed either in Africa or elsewhere" and that villages of out-migration are "doomed to stagnation" as migrants who return home even as entrepreneurs further contribute to the impoverishment of their fellow ruralites. He upholds this view in his studies on labour regions in Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Ghana, Kenya, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), and South Africa.

This contention appears over generalised as African societies are not homogeneous, and structural variations differ with levels of developmental attainment socially, economically and politically (Peil and Sada, 1984). Studies of labour situations in source areas do not support the views of Amin. For instance, the work of Ardener and Ardener (1960) among the Esu of Cameroon indicate that although 40% of the active adult population of the area was absent at the time of their investigation, there was no apparent

drop in food production. Harris (1959) made similar observations among the Thonga of Mozambique. At any given time, over 50% of the economically active males were absent from their home area, yet such a loss did not seriously threaten the ability of the population to survive or reproduce. This situation is accounted for by the fact that since women provide a major contribution in food production throughout Africa, food production is little affected by the absence of males (Udo, 1970).

Weakening of tribal cohesion and the authority of chiefs in the rural source areas is another aspect of social disadvantages that have been highlighted. It is argued that this has brought about a greater incidence of broken homes, and has had the effect of reducing birth rates in such areas of out migration. Udo (1970) however believes that the 'evils' of out-migration should rather be seen as part of much broader processes of social and economic change, in which traditional value systems and authority are being replaced by those emanating from the urban-industrial way of life.

2.5. LAND HOLDING RIGHTS AND INTERNAL MIGRATION.

Sandbrook (1982) emphasises landlessness as an important determinant of rural-urban migration since it is rooted in the explosive growth of rural populations and the process of social differentiation. As has been argued by Hance (1970), the erroneous view that Africa has no land problem stems from the common practice of employing continental or national density statistics in comparative analyses, thus ignoring the carrying capacity of the land and the paucity of place-specific research on the subject. He estimated that in the late 1960's almost half of Africa's population experienced population pressure upon land. His analysis identified 48 of the 52 nations in the continent suffering some degree of land shortage. Out of the 48, 23 have pervasive problems, while in the rest only specific regions

suffered from land pressure. The areas with the most severe problems included Rwanda, Burundi, the Kigezi district of Uganda, Iboland in eastern Nigeria and the Kano close settled zone of northern Nigeria, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), all the sahelian countries, many areas of the highlands of east Africa, southern Malawi, Lesotho and parts of Sierra Leone, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Cameroon, Zambia and Botswana.

Little (1965) had earlier noted that increased pressure of population upon land resources was a major reason for West African urbanization, because technological development such as improved health facilities and health care have generally increased population growth without an accompanying rise in food production. This is more so as a continuous utilization of indigenous methods of cultivation leads to shorter fallow periods and an eventual 'overall decrease in the margin of substinence and the density of population which the land can support.'

In Nigeria contemporary social dynamics occasioned by the oil boom of 1973-1983 accompanied by new state and LGA restructuring and more fundamentally the land use act of 1978 (this abrogated individual landrights and ownership) must certainly now play a very significant role in the administration of land holdings in all parts of the country especially among urbanward migrants. Where pressure on land exists it can be precariously in favour of a few land owners. For instance, Osoba's (1969) work shows how in certain cocoa growing areas of western Nigeria, just over 2% of 686 families surveyed in 1951 held 20.5% of all the cultivated land (with an average holding of 198.42 acres), whereas 55% of the farmers owned only 19.5% (average less than 5 acres), the later 'not enough to yield more than a bare subsistence.'

Goddard's (1974) work in three rural sites in Sokoto in northern Nigeria, indicates that up to 50% of working age men (14 years and above) are involved in "labour circulation" which is determined by the relative profitability of the alternative sources of urban income. He established a rate of labour

circulation of 16% in a riverine village, 45% in the accessible village and 66% for the remote village. Although these periods of absence were mainly between 2-3 months, up to 11% stayed away for up to 6 months, while 5.5% stayed away for more than one year. He was able to establish an independent relationship between the rate and duration of labour circulation and the availability of rural land holdings. The relationship between migration and local opportunities for earning cash incomes was clearly inverse, but he could not establish any significant relationship between land holding characteristics of migrants and non-migrants, mainly because people substituted migration for fadama cultivation. He aptly concludes that rising population densities with land shortages do not significantly explain variations in labour circulation rates. As he found in an earlier study (1969) in the Kano close-settled zone, traditional farming systems may get successfully adapted to such land shortages through intensive cultivation though the area is one of the most densely populated areas in Africa. He asserts that the "absence of lineage land from the tenure system adds to the need for the migrants to maintain an annual presence in the village if he wishes to maintain his home links and the security provided by his upland farm."

However, Gugler (1991) has established in a similarly very densely populated area of Anambra state, in eastern Nigeria that landlessness is not an issue for contention in urban- rural interaction as landholding (usufructory) rights are lineage land tenure, although according to the work of Dike (1983), most family members in this area now prefer that family land be partitioned among them. Lagemann's (1977) study in three Ibo villages where between 70-78% of the fields were inherited individual property, accords with this new attitude.

2.6. THE QUESTION OF PRIMACY IN NIGERIAN URBANIZATION.

As set out by Jefferson (1939) in his postulation, for primacy to exist the country's leading city must always be disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling. To elucidate, primate urban centres do have many of the following characteristics (Van Huyck, 1989):

a) Population concentrations and rates which are believed to be dangerous to the social stability of the country;

b) Concentrations of wealth many levels higher than any other urban centre or region in the country which makes a mockery of inter-regional equity objectives;

c) Per capita incomes often two or more times higher than other urban centres and rural populations;

d) Primate urban centre populations have benefited from a disproportionate level of investment in infrastructure and social facilities to the point that they enjoy substantially better access to water supply, sanitation, electricity, education and health facilities than the rest of the national population;

e) Yet primate urban centres have major problems in housing, transportation, infrastructure, unemployment and underemployment which makes most governments desirous of slowing down future population growth;

f) The diseconomies, congestion, and pollution of primate urban centres are widely thought to raise the costs of further development increments.

Considering the prerequisites above is Lagos a primate city in Nigeria ? Ebong (1980), indicates that though Lagos was indeed a village at the end of the 15th century when the Portuguese arrived in Nigeria, it quickly achieved a 'first class' status

when the colonial administration became fully established, after being initially designated a port city. Its population thus increased from 12,108 in 1931 to 1,476,837 in 1972 overtaking Ibadan which was 387,133 in 1931 and only 758,332 in 1972. As a centre of dominance even before independence Lagos port handled 44% of the country's exports and 68% of its imports between 1956 and 1959. By 1967 it handled about 70% of the exports and 90% of the imports (Ebong, 1980).

According to McNulty and Adalemo (1988 : 223.):

> "statistics available for Lagos clearly demonstrate that it could be very misleading to define primacy in demographic terms only."

This is because although the population of Lagos at 4 million (1986 estimates) could be twice as large as the next city in size Ibadan, yet it represents only about 4% of the total population of Nigeria and at best only about 20% of the total urban population. To use further statistics for elaboration, Lagos in fact benefits from a very large concentration of the country's wealth. For instance:

> "By 1965, about 32% of the country's total manufacturing establishments were located in Lagos alone. Lagos with barely over 1 % of the national population accounts for roughly 30% of factory employment throughout the country. The central city of Lagos accounts for 46% of all electricity used for domestic purposes, 38% of all drivers licences , 56% of the nation's telephone installations and 37% of the nation's commercial activities... Yet Lagos occupies only 43 sq.km of the total land area of Nigeria (924,000 km^2)"
>
> Sule, (1987 : 87).

Primacy in Nigerian urbanization is therefore an exception rather than the rule when compared to other countries of Africa and the third world in general. In an urban primacy rating by Doughty

(1979) of Africa for instance, Nigeria is ranked 56th. This leads to the conclusion that Lagos is not a primate city. But Jefferson's (1939) assertion in his pioneering work that "Once a city is larger than any other in the country, this mere fact gives it an impetus to grow that cannot affect any other city, and it draws away from them in character as well as in size" befits Lagos appropriately, as well as its role as a centre of intense nationalism and national influence. Government policies such as new state creation which have seen the growth of many medium-sized towns and the development of a new capital city at Abuja diminishes the role of Lagos further reducing its activity collating attributes. But the importance of Lagos as the business core of Nigeria cannot be diminished in the nearest future as it will nevertheless continue to be the country's premier urban centre, perhaps synonymous as New York is to Washington D.C.

2.7. NEW CAPITAL CITY DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIAN URBANIZATION.

In 1976, the Federal government of Nigeria decided on a new capital city as a substitute to Lagos, which was considered congested (chaotic yet vibrant) and dominated by one major ethnic group. A virtually virgin territory, centrally located in the 'heart' or 'middle belt' of the country (between Niger, Kaduna, Plateau and Kwara states) was chosen by the Aguda government panel commissioned in 1975 as the site, and its construction began in 1978. The original town in the area was renamed Suleija.

Created by decree no.6 of 1976, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) comprises an area of 8,000 km^2. Abuja city, however, is envisaged to occupy 256 km^2, only 3% of the total Federal Capital City area. The remainder will become part of the city region. The population of the area was 109,000 in 1963 and 125,000 in 1977. This rose to 157,750 in 1986. The 1991 census puts its population at 378,671. It is projected that the population would grow to 1.6 million in 2000 and finally 3.2 million.

On the 12th of December 1991, the seat of government officially moved to Abuja. The president moved with his staff and 700,000 workers of federal establishments, after he had signed decree 51, the legal instrument which transferred the seat of the federal government from Lagos to Abuja (NEWSWATCH, December 23, 1991: 29).

The 1989 constitution of Nigeria provides that Abuja operates the mayoral system of governance. A one-tier system of government, the mayoral or municipal council, is envisaged under the system, headed by a mayor and four deputy mayors who are heads of its four constituent administrative units. There is also provision for supervisors and a secretary to the municipal government. The laws of the territory would be passed by the National Assembly.

The movement of the seat of government from Lagos to Abuja, the new capital city, signifies a new dimension in the urbanization and spatial urban development of Nigeria. The centrality of its location means in effect that it is more readily accessible from all parts of the country. This is more so as it is adequately served by land and air. An intra-urban rail network is being developed. Its growth will certainly be a booster to the lagging middle belt area of the country, while providing impetus to economic interaction with its neighbouring urban centres of Jos, Minna, Kaduna, and Ilorin.

For the moment, at least, it seems adequately served with water and electricity unlike Lagos. The city has an installed electricity capacity of 90 MVA, but only 28% is being used. Two dams supply water to the city and environs. The Jabi dam has a reservoir capacity of six million cubic metres of water, while the Lower Usman dam has a capacity of 120 million cubic metres.

Its two main problems, for sometime yet, will be accommodation and intra-city transportation. This seems to be because the private sector is still poorly represented in the city, as virtually all the infrastructure, housing and supportive services have been put in place by government.

However quickly Abuja develops, its function will remain primarily administrative. As regards business, industrialization and commerce, Lagos will retain its pride of place for a long time to come.

2.8. NATURAL INCREASE AS A COMPONENT OF NIGERIAN URBANIZATION.

The Vital statistics ordinance of 1867, initiated the registration of vital events in Nigeria. Initially this was limited to Lagos, but was later extended to Warri (1903) and Port Harcourt (1904) (Umoh, 1972). Generally the registration has been unsuccessful due to apathy, fear and suspicion by the local population as well as the non-enforcement of the law by government. However in Lagos, the registration is operative and the results are used as representative of the whole country (even by the UN). See table 2.4. Most researchers have resorted to sample surveys in the absence of a comprehensive vital registration system. These surveys may have only limited reliability because of inherent constraints and deficiencies such as sample size and financial limitations.

According to UN estimates, birth rates vary between 49.2 and 57 per 1000. On the average, the birth rate for the country is around 50 per thousand. The death rates range between 15.6 and 24.9, with an average of 20.3, although the Lagos vital statistics report shows that the crude death rate fell from about 20 per 1,000 population in 1940-45 period to about 10 per 1,000 in 1973 (Sada, 1984).

It is however difficult to establish variations between urban and rural areas as well as determine the contribution of natural increase to urbanization. Fertility levels also tend to change with level of educational attainment and type of marital affiliation. Sada (1984), concludes after appraisal of some case studies that fertility rate is higher in the urban than in the rural areas.

Table 2.4. NIGERIA: Basic demographic indices.

INDEX	1960	1989
POPULATION ANNUAL GROWTH RATE (%)	2.5 (1965-80)	3.2 (1980-89)
CRUDE DEATH RATE ('000)	25	15
CRUDE BIRTH RATE ('000)	52	48
LIFE EXPECTANCY	40	51
TOTAL FERTILITY RATE		6.9
% POPULATION URBANIZED		35
AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF URBAN POPULATION (%)	4.8 (1965-80)	5.9 (1980-89)
TOTAL ADULT LITERACY RATE (%)		43 (1985)

SOURCE: UNICEF, The state of the world's children, 1991. Oxford University Press.

2.9. URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES AND INTERACTION IN INTERNAL MIGRATION.

The often stated reasons for urban-rural links include the family and kinship ties otherwise known as the extended family system, as well as the desire to retain rural land rights and hence social security as entrenched in African culture. Urbanites therefore 'participate in the urban economy while remaining loyal to a rural community; they operate in geographically separate but culturally and economically integrated systems' (Gugler and Flanagan, 1978: 64).

The apparent development of a network of social communications has been assisted by the general improvement in spatial communications including passenger transport systems, education and literacy, the media (radios, television, newspapers), as well as the use of computers and satellite systems (to a much lesser degree in the developing countries). Soja (1968:115) identified this earlier when he alluded to the fact that anything which broadens the information field of an individual promotes social communications.

Investment in rural areas by urbanites has been demonstrated in Cote d'Ivoire; during the Africanisation of the Kenyan highlands; in the Bangui area of the Central African Republic (Peil and Sada,1984); by the Ijebu of western Nigeria (Aronso 1979, Adegbola 1976, Peil 1981); the Ukana and Afaha clans of Akwa Ibom state in southern Nigeria (Akpan 1986); and for Zambia (Scudder and Colson 1980). Odimuko and Riddell (1979:59), reporting upon their work in six Imo state villages in Nigeria, argue that since cash remittances by urbanites mainly supported post-primary education, which is closely associated with rural out-migration, they have a perverse effect on rural areas and rather continue to aid in the evolution and continuation of regional (urban-rural) disparities. They also maintain that "urban-rural cash remittances have no significant effect upon the general maintenance of rural households." They also established a systematic temporal dimension with the pattern of receipt of the remittances during September, December and March/April which corresponds to the beginning of school terms when school fees are required. This situation might have changed due to the introduction of a free universal primary education (UPE) by government in 1976.

Adepoju (1974) surveyed social and economic links between urban in-migrants and their "home" households in order to ascertain the role and impact of migration in south-western Nigeria utilizing both objective and subjective approaches. Concentrating on migrants to Oshogbo, his findings were that:

i) Ties with hometown are manifested by periodic visits which serve as "channels of cultural diffusion thereby preventing social change becoming isolated within the urban area."

ii) Many village households are dependent on remittances from migrants without which they would have been poorer. These remittances could also be goods, gifts, savings etc.

iii) Urban in-migrants belong to "improvement unions" which promote self-help schemes such as the building of hospitals, roads, schools, electricity projects, etc. in their home areas. He thus concludes that "the remittance system has made it possible for a large number of people in the rural areas to benefit from the development and growth of the urban economy."

This latter assertion is echoed by Caldwell (1969: 216), who holds the view that the cash flow "is a demonstration that the development of the urban economy directly benefits very large numbers of people who do not take up residence in the towns." Furthermore, Gugler and Flanagan (1978) in spite of their criticism of the rural urban migration process, concur that urban rural cash transfers "provide a means of mitigating the serious inequalities that exist between urban and rural areas." Also Bates (1976) with respect to Zambia holds strongly that "migration has served as a means whereby rural dwellers extract wealth from the towns and transfer it to the village communities" while utilizing the family ties mechanism to exploit the labour market.

These findings conflict with the results of Odumuko and Riddell in Imo state villages as indicated earlier as regards the maintenance of rural households through remittances. This is an indication that variations do occur across the country as shown by Akpan (1986). His assessment of the impact of rural out-migration in the Ukana and Afaha clans of the Ikot Ekpene Local government area (LGA) of Akwa Ibom state, in southern Nigeria, shows benefits derivable from such movement as inclusive

of educational support of dependants and the establishment of new socio-economic projects at the rural homes. He however established that the neglect of agriculture and other social responsibilities are still outstanding problems, concluding therefore that rural out-migration is deleterious since it robs the rural areas of the much needed threshold population that enhances rural development. His contention is that urban migrants' associations are useful tools only to members at their urban destinations, to the detriment of their home towns.

Okoye (1988) in his study of 42 social clubs in Anambra state found an entirely contrasting picture. These clubs restricted membership to only the rich traders from nearby urban centres to the exclusion of the typical rural population and civil servants. They also embarked on mainly recreational projects designed to cater for the comfort of the periodic weekenders, which have no direct relevance to the welfare of the ruralites and their environment. The clubs he contends, keep the educated at bay and even view them with suspicion due perhaps to inferiority complex. He found that 42.2% of the projects initiated by the social clubs were uncompleted, abandoned and unstarted which is a reflection of the high incidence of mismanagement of funds and a waste of otherwise alternative viable utilization of land resources by the organizations.

Of similar importance is interaction among migrants themselves in urban areas. This is particularly as regards help they render to new arrivals. This could be in the nature of providing food and accommodation, or information about job openings. In some cases they provide money in loans or gift for the upkeep of the new arrivals. Sometimes new arrivals start a job immediately on arrival, that could have been prior arranged especially if it has to do with apprenticeship.

A convenient way of interaction among established migrants in urban areas is through community development or self-help or thrift associations or unions. The associations serve as a

cohesive force among migrants in urban areas. According to Gugler (1984:120),

> "The solidarity of common origin, strengthened by feelings of mutual obligation, and shared long-term interest in the future of their home community is complemented by sentiment."

These associations are voluntary, cultural or ethnically affinal with communal, thrift or cooperative preferences and objectives. They play a mainly facilitatory role as they are a reminder to a migrant that home still exists. In this role they strengthen urban-rural linkages. Ties to common home area tend to be mutually reinforcing as this enhances communication and social control.

Although these associations tend to be ephemeral, or at least irregular in nature, Peil (1981:219), maintains that

> "...the important factor in the strength of primary associations seems to be competition for local or national political resources which emphasises ethnic or sub-ethnic boundaries or migrant versus host interest."

The large associations seem more bureaucratized, while the smaller ones seem to provide better social support on the particularistic basis their members expect although they have less available resources. Multiple membership is common. The major characteristics of the associations are:

1. A hierarchical leadership structure (see figure 6.1);

2. Specified goals;

3. Formal or informal norms as to members behaviour, and

4. A distinct identity, symbolized by a name (Edwards and Booth, 1973:3).

The relationships tend to be curvilinear rather than linear (Peil, 1981), as the moderately successful migrants participate more in associational activities than the poorest residents who tend mainly to be illiterate and unskilled, and lack the resources to participate in an association (or in more than one), while the most advantaged urban residents would rather prefer to spend their free periods with family or in informal socializing with friends. Well educated migrants tend to look down on membership, while those in manual and commercial occupations are more likely to be members than professionals.

2.10. PERIODIC VISITS TO HOME AREAS IN URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.

Another significant aspect of urban-rural linkages is manifested through periodic visits. Sabot's (1979) work in Tanzania is indicative of the extent of these visits. His survey showed that 70% of the male urban migrants had made a visit home at least once, while those who had not done so were mainly the most recent arrivals. Visits of once a year were undertaken by the majority including migrants to Dar es Salaam from such far away areas as the West lake and Mara regions. Most visits undertaken mainly by migrants from the surrounding district were made once a month as established by Mlay (1974) in Arusha and Moshi. He also found that the proportion of migrants receiving visits from rural relatives is similar but at varying frequencies.

Caldwell (1969) reports a 79% return rate of long-term Ghanaian migrants. He found that over a half of the migrants to the towns were back home by age 45 while only 4% of the men and 2% of the women over 65 were still away. Byerlee (1974) recorded similar behaviour among migrants to Sierra Leonian towns. The situation in other cases seems to be that the unsuccessful migrants return home while the successful ones delay their return or become permanent residents in towns. As these studies indicate, household and extended family obligations play a significant

role. Thus while those who can contribute regularly to expenses at home are less likely to be encouraged to return, those who have few prospects and require continued support are not.

In Nigeria, a survey by Adepoju (1974) of migrant heads of households in Ife and Oshogbo showed that only 7% did not visit home areas, while 40% visited more than seven times a year. He was also able to show that distance between urban and rural homes had little effect on both the frequency and nature of the visits since most migrants were indigens of that region: south western Nigeria. Distance however must be considered of much relevance in migrants visits especially as regards time involved in making such visits since most of the migrants in the survey were in paid employment and could only utilize weekends, holidays or annual leave periods to visit. Mabogunje (1967a) had previously discovered that most Ijebu migrants returned home most weekends, making it difficult to effectively determine urban residency even though such migrants were fully integrated in the urban economy.

Aronson's (1979) extensive study of the Ijebu at home and in Ibadan gives the following as reasons for returning home at various points in a persons career or option of permanent urban residence:

i.To take up family or hometown leadership roles in mid career or after retirement,

ii.To take up business opportunities at home,

iii.To maintain control over urban investments such as housing.

Ekpenyong (1984), established among the Ikpe migrants from south eastern Nigeria to Cameroonian cocoa farms that most returned home after age 45. According to Peil et al (1988), it is no longer characteristic among West Africans to spend a few years away to obtain the material resources for dowry in marriage, rather, perceived old age is the main reason most often given for

returning home. This they ascertain could be related to increasing ill-health or to retirement from urban wage employment. However, eventual retirement to village or the option to remain in the city by the Ijebus of south western Nigeria may depend on access to accommodation (Osborne, 1973) or physical support needs especially for the elderly people who would then depend on their children, sibling or relative (Ekpeyong, Oyeneye and Peil, 1987).

A recent study by Gugler (1991) among the Ibo of Enugu in Anambra state, Nigeria, portrays some variation in migrant attitudes in 1961 as opposed to 1987. He established that there is a strong desire by migrants to finally settle in their home places of origin on eventual retirement, even though many of them, especially the entrepreneurs and contractors, have during their stay in town acquired the necessary resources to secure an adequately happy retirement in their urban setting.

Among the senior civil servants in his sample, only one third do not want to retire to their home areas, while nearly all wish to be buried at home when they die. He also found that the desire to be buried at home was universal across the occupational groups. As opposed to the situation in 1961 when a third of the blue collar workers and the retired junior personnel kept a wife at home, the exception was now the case. Even among the market traders, only one in four still kept a wife at home. Others managed to run a farm at home with both husband and wife visiting regularly to supervise farm work with mainly hired help.

An area that has been largely glossed over in rural-urban migration studies in Nigeria and other parts of Africa is the participatory role of teenages, yet teenagers make up a greater part of most African countries' populations (Gould, 1975). Moreover their present lifestyle could play a dominant role in their future attitudes on attaining adulthood. They are so to say 'living in two worlds' (O'Connor,1983: 307) or their existence tends to be 'life in a dual system' (Gugler, 1971: 405).

According to Peil (1972), second generation city dwellers in Ghana who do not accompany their parents home regularly during childhood will have only vague emotional attachment to their home areas. She however did not indicate the proportion of these tendencies. A later study by Scildkrout (1978) on second generation urbanites of the Mossi in Kumasi, showed that even the first generation visited home less frequently when compared to the corresponding peer groups elsewhere.

2.11. REMITTANCES IN URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.

Home remittances by urban migrants represents an important aspect in a further understanding of the various aspects of urban- rural interaction in Nigeria and other parts of the world. On the basis of a 1963 survey, Caldwell (1969) estimated that approximately one-tenth of all income earned in Accra (Ghana) was remitted in some form to the countryside. Johnson and Whitelaw (1974), from a sample of 1,140 males of low and middle income earners in Nairobi (Kenya), established that 89% sent money out of Nairobi, representing an average of 21% of their reported earnings.

Another sample survey by Rempel and Lobdell (1978) of 1,091 recent immigrants in the urban areas of Kenya, showed a monthly remittance of approximately 13% of the average income earned by all men in the sample. The prominence of remittances in rural interaction was also established by Bienefeld and Sabot (1972) in Tanzania. In their study of over 5,000 urban immigrants, about 40% sent money home at least once annually. The same trait is indicated in Adepoju's (1974) study which showed that about 60% of migrants in Oshogbo (Nigeria) remitted money home. Of these 90% remitted money regularly.

Campbell (1988) sees a flaw in the uni-directional perspective discussion of remittances, and indicates rather that they are dual or multi-directional as home based relatives also send gifts such as food items to urban kin. Perhaps this is a confirmation

of studies by Essang and Mabawonku (1974), involving 180 families of six villages in western Nigeria, from which 480 migrants lived in an urban centre during the 1971-72 period. Their conclusion was that " there is a net transfer of cash from rural to the urban areas. When this is combined with investment in education of the migrant, the net transfer of funds from the rural to the urban areas is considerable." This could be with the assumption that most of the migrants considered in the study were educated.

In a survey of over fifty studies undertaken in developing countries, Rempel and Lobdell (1977) attempted to determine:
i) The extent of urban-rural remittances;

ii) The determinants of these observed financial and resource flows and

iii) The uses made of the remittances in the rural areas.

From their various findings they concluded that the proportion of urban income remitted varied directly with the strength of the social and economic ties to the rural area, and inversely with how well migrants are established in urban areas. The extent of a migrant's establishment in town in their own evaluation, is in turn determined by the amount of income earned, the length of stay and whether or not a migrant is accompanied by members of his immediate family.

Lipton (1976) draws from available literature a list, in order of importance, of priorities that seem to govern or determine rural utilization of remittances. These are:
i. The purchase of consumption goods for everyday needs;

ii. The payment of debts and the provision of education for sons;

iii. Education of younger siblings and

iv. Investment.

The purchase of consumption goods for everyday needs, in his estimation absorbs about 90% of remittances received. This study supports Johnson and Whitelaw's (1974) findings in Kenya where rural use of remittances was of the proportion of school fees 12%; payment of debts 2%; maintenance of farms 4%; and support of family and friends 96%. The explanation of the total % exceeding 100 may lie in multiple choice selection by respondents.

2.12. CONCLUSION.

Urbanization in Nigeria has been enhanced and spatially diversified in the last few decades. The aspects of urban-rural interaction in the process indicates to a large extent the interplay of the extended family, ethnic cultural cohesiveness, and the desire for economic self improvement and security. Since urbanization is a dynamic and evolving process we might yet see greater development accompanied by changes that reflect the socio-economic, political, cultural conditions and accessibility trends.

CHAPTER THREE.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THEORIES OF POPULATION CHANGE AND MOBILITY, URBANIZATION AND URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.

3.1. INTRODUCTION.

The weaknesses of classical population change and movements or population transfer models in explaining urbanization phenomena in Africa and other developing areas has been highlighted severally (Ayeni 1979, Mabogunje 1968, 1974, 1989, Adepoju 1974, 1983, Okpara 1986, Okpala 1977,1987, Chadwick 1987, Lo and Salih 1981, Rondinelli 1983, 1985 and others). For instance Okpala (1987) asserts that these theories have generally been applied in Africa without paying adequate attention to either indigenous socio-cultural and value systems, or to analyzing and interpreting the relevance of Africa's unique circumstances. Thus "the study of urban phenomena in the African context has inevitably been based on premises, conceptual frameworks and hypotheses derived from the study of Euro-American societies" (Cornelius Jr. 1971:76). He contends further that due to the advantage of advanced information dissemination in western societies, most of the theories have become bench marks in African urbanization studies, without critical evaluation but rather concentrating on the verification or validation of these theories thereby giving unmerited implicit acceptance to them.

It is on this basis that contemporary theoretical formulations could be viewed. Chatterjee (1981) affirms that as yet we are devoid of a single comprehensive theory that pays adequate justice to the diverse processes and sub-processes interacting to produce the complex phenomena of urbanization in developing countries. In order to better understand these processes, there is a need to highlight the basic tenets of the urbanization process, migration and population mobility as aspects of urban-rural interaction.

3.2. **THE URBANIZATION PROCESS:**

In the literature, as an evolutionary process urbanization involves the following:

1. The setting up of towns requires an agricultural surplus, originally close at hand, thus an ecological base (which will include supplies of water);

2. The agricultural surplus frees some people from dependence upon their own labour for their own food: they or some of them representing a rural population surplus, move to town and to other activities, i.e urbanization involves migration;

3. The town, as it grows, will demand more agricultural surplus, thus technically more advanced or more productive agriculture or command of a more productive area;

4. Urban growth is by natural increase and/or more inward migration;

5. The new urban dwellers become specialists in various trades and occupations though early towns inevitably include food producers, fishermen, and primary producers such as miners and foresters;

6. New economic processes are set up, of barter and exchange, with first travelling then permanent markets, etc. The surplus is stored in the city;

7. Organizational structures arise, including processes for the administration of the food and water supply, the storage, counting recording and defence of the surplus, and of the organization itself, this implies some kind of power structure;

8. Technological processes are advanced in the city, of transport and storage, of hand manufacture: these use energy on a greater scale, though still largely animate energy;

9. Growth of the town requires growth of its parts, and processes as well as of its command of external resources.

Specialization is thus the essence of urbanization. However there are three limiting conditions for the development of urban centres. These according to Mabogunje (1970:35) include:

a. A surplus of food production with which to feed the class of specialists whose activities are now non-agricultural;

b. There must be a small group of people who can exercise some power over the group of food producers, and ensure stable and peaceful conditions;

c. There must be a class of traders and merchants.

Other researchers have also indicated that the urbanization process involves much more. For instance it implies 'civilization' (Childe, 1964:107), and according to Sjoberg (1960:33), writing is essential to the characterization of the city. He further maintains that 'Above all, the use of a writing system is the single firm criterion for distinguishing the city, the nucleus of civilization, from other types of early settlements'.

Fundamentally, it is extremely difficult to identify a single criterion to summarise the urbanization process, and the variations in the diverse composite processes, both spatially and temporally are very complex.

3.2.a. **MIGRATION AND TYPOLOGY OF POPULATION MOBILITY:**

Essentially, rural-urban migration represents a basic transformation of the nodal structure of a society in which people move from smaller but mainly agricultural communities to larger non-agricultural ones. It thus has a spatial (or horizontal) dimension of movement as well as a socio-economic (or vertical) dimension involving a permanent transformation of skills, attitudes, motivations and behavioural patterns that confers on a migrant an ability to break with his rural background while becoming committed to an urban existence (Mabogunje, 1970).

According to Uyanga (1982), Nigeria has a three-fold urban research need. These include urban policy development, urban problem resolution and the expansion of the "urban knowledge" base. These needs revolve around four possible research approaches:

i) Policy science approach, drawing upon economic, behavioural, political and management sciences to improve upon the processes and structure of urban policies;

ii) Cybernetics and systems analysis, incorporating cost-benefits, linear programming, input/ output analysis to determine optimum policy options;

iii) Forecasting of urban features for scientific determination of trends and

iv) Goal and priority establishment through social statistics and social indicators.

However, many theoretical formulations are of much relevance in this study and in striving to conceptualize urbanization in developing countries including Nigeria. The concept of urbanization is not mutually exclusive of civilization and development, hence it is often considered synonymous with development, while migration is a major component of urbanization.

3.2.b. **INTERNAL MIGRATION**

Conceptually, migration is a flow or movement of population with a temporary or permanent spatial inflow or outflow dimension. Temporary migration involves the 'flow and return' type or a 'stepping stone' kind towards other points. Permanent migration on the other hand is the net difference between an inflow and an outflow in relation to a particular place, not necessarily as a single-flow process (Chadwick, 1987). Migration is characterized by movement which involves land or house occupancy change.

In a basic distinction, Peterson (1958) demarcates migration broadly into conservative migration and innovative migration. Under the conservative migration category, a person moves from his place of origin to another in order to conserve and retain his extant way of life. He strives to retain his mode of living in view of the contemporary dynamic changes. Conversely, under innovative migration, the person moves in order to acquire a new way of life that he believes could uplift his status and wellbeing (see table 3.1). The following sub-groupings fall under innovative migration:

i) **PRIMITIVE MIGRATION**

Here the people are compelled to move as a result of ecological, geographical, or natural forces. To survive and maintain their progeny the people move in search of a new place that could be synonymous with the conditions of their initial home. Since the people move to seek out a new way of life, it is considered as an innovative form of migration.

ii) **FORCED OR IMPELLED MIGRATION**

In this form of innovative migration, the population movement is compelled or forced by the state or some other form or political or economic force. Examples of this form of movement include the slave trade, flight from governmental oppression and expulsion. It could also include forceful resettlement schemes to pave the way for government projects such as dams, and programmed settlement schemes in planned economies, or segregated accommodation in the apartheid country, South Africa.

iii) **FREE MIGRATION**

The causative and most crucial factor in this form of migration is the individual will of the migrant, wherein with his own initiative, he sets out seeking new homes and patterns of livelihood. This is a common phenomenon in most democratic countries of the world. The exception is the highly planned centralized communist countries.

iv) **MASS MIGRATION**

This involves movement in which social factors are the main determinants of the migration decision. It occurs within a group rather than on an individual basis. When it occurs, the conscious individual decision will be 'not' to move, rather than the decision to move.

v) **CHAIN MIGRATION.**

This is another mode of migration characteristic of developing areas. According to Young, (1979) chain migration is :

> "...a process in which migrants move to destinations which they already know and where they have established contacts, or which they have heard of indirectly through relatives and friends."

With specific emphasis, MacDonald and MacDonald (1964), define chain migration as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, and are provided with transportation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants. This connotes a social process by which successive layers of in-migrants show obligations to subsequent in-migrants. Others (Goldscheider, 1971) consider this form of migration as a combination of individual and family migration in longitudinal perspective, where an individual migrant sends for family, kin or members of his community. It thus involves the movements characterized by the interactions between migrants and destination-based contacts. Broadly it can be subdivided into delayed family migration and serial migration (Banerjee,1983). The former occurs when family members relocate from origin to destination in lagged stages. Generally, one or a few members of the family migrates first, while the others follow after the initial mover has established himself at the destination point. The followers may move as dependants of the initial mover or with the explicit intention of entering the urban labour force. The eventual movers may not only be spouse and children, as the case may be, but may also include brothers, parents and other relatives.

Conversely, serial migration involves interactions between individuals who are not members of the same family. Destination based contacts are extra-familial relatives or non-related persons though known to the migrants or their families. Also in serial migration, the migration stream usually consists mostly entirely of labour migrants.

3.2.c. **THE LAWS OF MIGRATION**

The 'laws of migration' were initially formulated by E.G. Ravenstein in a paper in 1885 based on the British census. Later in 1889 he further supported his views with data from over twenty countries (Lee, 1970). These laws were statements in the form of propositions about the nature of migration trends, streams of migration and migration differentials. The laws are stated as:

i) The majority of the migrants go only a short distance, that is the numbers of migrants grow less in the absorbtion areas as the distance between these areas and the sending areas increases;

ii) Migration proceeds step by step. Moving from the rural areas to the urban areas will leave a gap in the rural population which is going to be filled by migrants from more remote districts. When the attractive force of another urban centre is felt, step by step the migrants will move towards it;

iii) Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and or industry;

iv) Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current;

v) The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural areas;

vi) Females are more migratory than males in their country of birth, but males more frequently venture abroad;

vii) Most migrants are adults - whole families rarely migrate out of the country of their birth;

viii) Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transportation improves;

ix) The major direction of migration is from agricultural areas

to centres of industry and commercial activities;

x) The major causes of migration are economic. Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxes, bad climate, inconsistent social surroundings, and other factors like transportation, all these have their effect on the migrant's decision, but above all is the influence of the migrant's desire to better himself in the material aspect.

Although criticised severally, Ravenstein's work has remained among the most comprehensive and detailed as regards the comparison among nations in the volume of internal migration and migrants characteristics, as well as an attempt to integrate migration into economic and social theory, spatial analysis and behaviourial theory.

Table 3.1 TYPOLOGY OF POPULATION MOBILITY.

Relation	Migratory force	Class of migration	Type of migration. ---------- Conservative	------- Innovating
Nature and Man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering Ranging	Flight from the land
State(or equivalent and man	Migratory policy	Forced Impelled	Displacement Flight	Slave trade Coolie trade
Man and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective behaviour	Social momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbanization

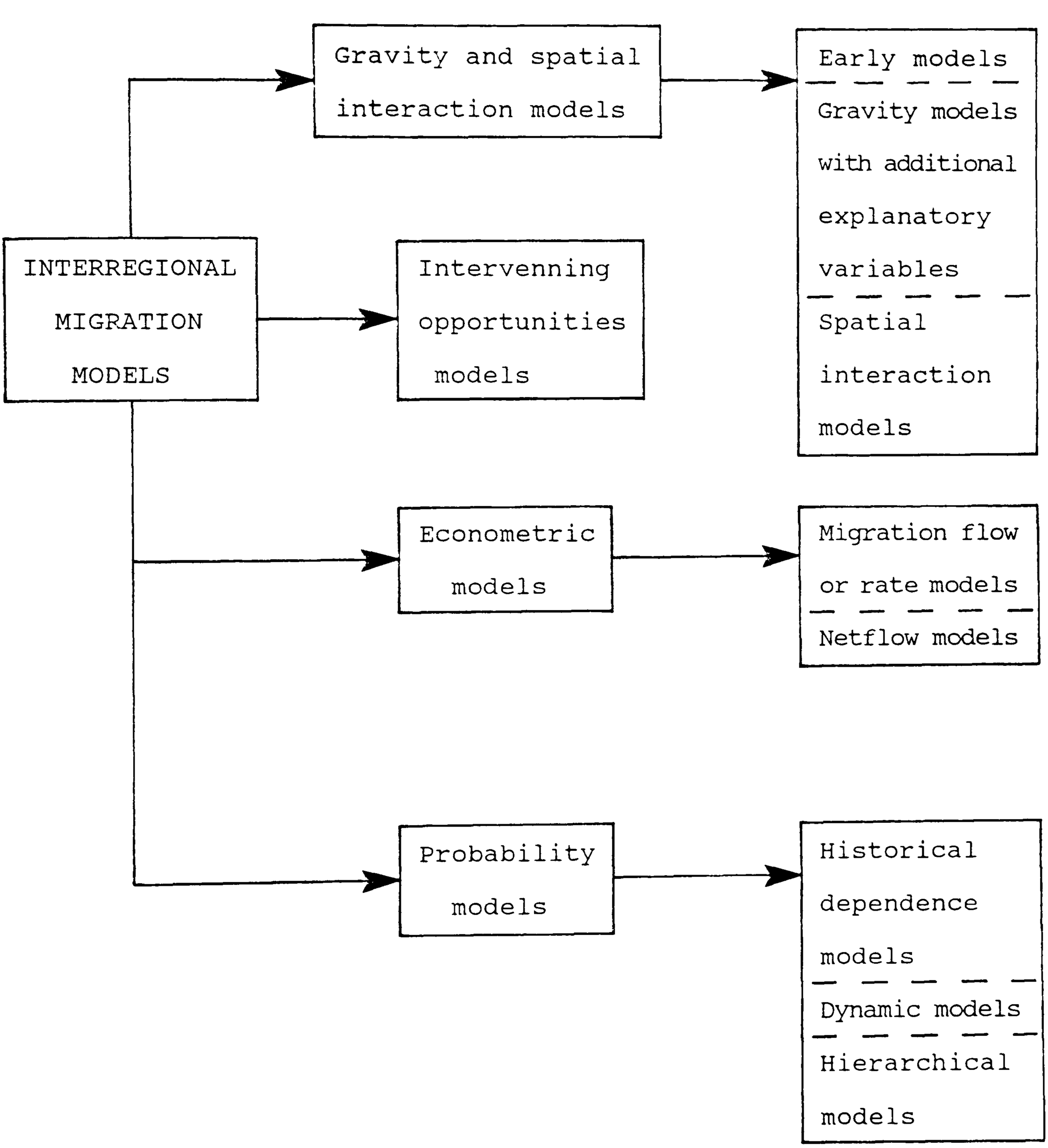
Source: Jansen, C.J. (1970) Readings in the sociology of migration. p.65. Pergamon, cited in Mabogunje, A. L. (1989) The development process: A spatial perspective, p.239.

3.3. **MODELS OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION.**

A broad and general classification of migration models is twofold: Macro-analytical and micro-analytical models (Todaro, 1976). The distribution of migrants after the decision to move has been made and the determinants of such a move constitute the sphere of macro-models, while the micro-models in contrast consider behavioral theory involved in the decision to migrate.

Other classification systems of migration models also exist. For example, Masser (1971), proposes three categories which are: probabilistic, incremental and / or partial, and interaction migration models. Courgear (1970), alternatively identifies four migration model categories. These include deterministic, stochastic, static and dynamic types. A three fold categorization into adhoc, gravity, and Markov chain migration models has also been made by Weeden (1973). A more expansive classification by Stillwell (1975) as indicated in fig.3.1. includes gravity and spatial interaction, intervening opportunities, econometric, and probability migration models. With these classifications in perspective, the following models are of much relevance to this research.

Fig. 3.1. A classification of migration models (Stillwell, 1975).



3.3.a. THE TODARO MIGRATION MODEL

The basic tenets of the model are:

i) Migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological.

ii) The decision to migrate depends on "expected" rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials, where the expected differential is determined by the interaction of two variables, the actual urban-rural wage differential and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the urban sector.

iii) The probability of obtaining an urban job is inversely related to the urban employment rate.

iv) Migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates are not only possible but rational and even likely in the face of wide urban-rural expected income differentials. High rates of urban unemployment are therefore inevitable outcomes of the serious imbalance of economic opportunities between urban and rural areas of most developing countries. Chadwick (1987) adequately depicts this as indicated in figure 3.2.

Formally, Todaro's model of rural-urban migration is set out as follows: It is assumed that the percentage change in the urban labour force as a result of migration during any period is a function (F) of the difference between the discounted streams of

expected urban and rural real income, expressed as a percentage of the discounted stream of expected rural real income:

$$St = F\left[\frac{V_u(t) - V_r(t)}{V_r(t)}\right]$$

where:

S = net rural urban migration

S = existing urban labour force

$V_u(t)$ = discounted present value for expected urban real-income stream over unskilled workers planning horizon

$V_r(t)$ = discounted present value of expected rural real-income stream over same planning horizon.

It is further assumed that the planning horizon is identical for each worker, the fixed costs of migration are identical for all workers and that the discount rate factor is constant over the planning horizon and identical for all potential migrants.

The permanent rural income (that is, the present value of the expected income stream over n period) is expressed as

$$V_r(O) = \int_{t=o} Yr(t)\, e^{-rt}\, dt$$

where:

$Y_r(t)$ = net expected rural real income in period t based on average real income in x previous periods

r = discount factor reflecting the degree of consumption time preference of the typical unskilled rural worker

Permanent urban income is represented as:

$$V_u(O) = \int p(t)\, Y_u(t) e^{-rt}\, dt - C(O)$$

where:

$Y_u(t)$ = net urban real income in period t

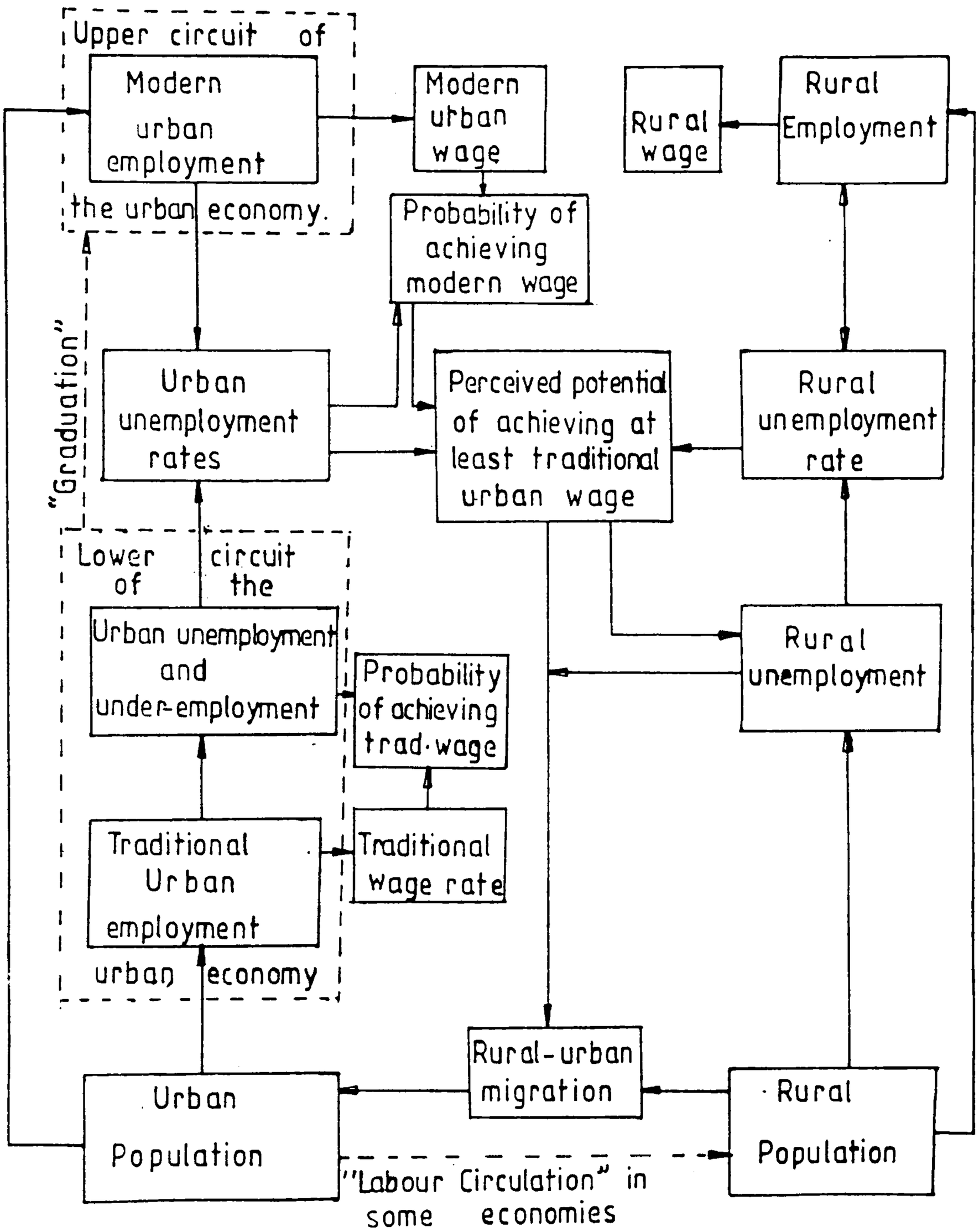
C(O) = initial fixed costs of migration and relocation in the urban sector

p(t) = probability of finding a modern sector job in time period t.

The inclusion of p(t) means that even if $Y_u(t) - Y_r(t)$ was positive, the 'expected ' differential, $p(t)Y_u(t) - Y_r(t)$ could be negative. p(t) depends on the probability of being selected from the pool of urban 'traditional sector' workers in the current or previous time periods. The length of time spent in the urban 'traditional sector' is thus of importance. The probability of being selected is equal to the ratio of new modern sector employment openings in period t relative to the number of accumulated job seekers in the urban 'traditional sector' at that time.

Todaro thus perceives the underlying causes and determinants of rural-urban migration and the relationship between migration and economic opportunities in these areas as crucial in any analysis of the employment situation in developing countries. Since migration is the main determinant of labour supply in the urban sector, the migration process must be explicitly understood in order to determine the nature and causes of urban unemployment, and the policies aimed at resolving the problem must be based on which and why migrants come to town.

Fig.3.2 A MODEL OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN A DEVELOPING COUNTRY (Chadwick G 1987)



Rampel's (1970) study in Kenya conflicts with the assertions put forward in Todaro's model. He established that even though 84% of the migrants in his research sample needed jobs and land, and these constitute the primary motives for their leaving home, yet the distance and cost of moving were the major hindrances in rural-urban migration in the country.

It is difficult, utilizing the Todaro model to measure income obtainable in the urban and rural areas of the developing countries. The first difficulty encountered is in attempting to establish the literacy levels or the educational composition of the population, which influences employability as records are very scanty or non existent. It is also difficult to ascertain the real disposable incomes in both rural and urban areas. This is because in the urban areas some of the workers' income is sent back to village homes as remittance and for the upkeep of relatives, while another part is used to maintain newly arrived migrants from home areas. Furthermore, the informal sector is a major employer of labour in urban areas where income levels vary a great deal. In the rural areas on the other hand, rent is non existent or virtually free, and with a subsistence economy the cost of living is relatively low, so that comparable incomes are difficult to establish.

Todaro (1989) seems to be aware of the apparent shortcomings of the model when he advises that for the model to attain a substantial degree of successful application the following policy options need be considered:

i) The reduction of imbalances in urban-rural employment opportunities.

ii) Urban job creation is an insufficient solution for the urban unemployment problem.

iii) Indiscriminate educational expansion will lead to further migration and unemployment.

iv) Wage subsidies and traditional scarcity factor pricing can be counter productive.

v) Programmes of integrated rural development should be encouraged.

In the face of the apparent criticisms of the model Todaro (1976) believes that the 'fundamental contribution' of the model is that it remains widely accepted as 'the "received theory" in the literature on migration and economic development.'

3.3.b. **GROWTH POLE MODEL**

Initially developed by Perroux (1955), the growth pole concept was translated into spatial perspective by Boudeville (1966). According to Rondinelli (1985) the growth pole concept of spatial development suggests that by investing heavily in capital-intensive industrial establishments in the predominantly large urban areas, economic growth could spread outward to stimulate and generate regional development. The concept is thus overtly concerned with where development occurs, and is based on the principle that the free operation of market forces would create 'ripple' or 'trickle down' effects that would stimulate economic growth throughout the region. Stohr and Taylor (1981) indicate that the basic hypothesis of the concept is that development is driven by external demand and innovation impulses, and that from a few dynamic sectoral or geographical clusters or 'poles' development would spontaneously or be induced and trickle down to the rest of the regional system.

A comprehensive critique of the growth pole model has been provided by Lo and Salih (1981). They argue that the concept is partial and inappropriate for the development of underdeveloped peripheral regions since the approach is in the main without instead of within the system. Other problems that belie its application they indicate are:

i) The appropriateness of the concept cannot be separated from the historical context and proceeds of regional and national

development.

ii) Planned 'leading' industries in growth poles are created in rural regions under conditions in which most sectors of the non-farm economy are dominated by firms in the metropolis and overseas which have advantages of scale, access to innovation (locally generated or controlled through patent rights attached to the borrowing of technology) and control of markets, as well as protection by the anti-rural biases of the state.

iii) Under these conditions there is great difficulty in generating local linkages between industries in the growth centre and between industries in the centre and the hinterlands. The industrial linkages where they occur such as in raw material extraction, have limited possibilities for local complementarities which might enhance the growth of market relations in the peripheral economy.

iv) The principles of nodality and concentration enhancing the development process give expected advantage to the role of large cities as the absence of intermediate-size cities may severely constrain the decentralization of development activities.

v) The linkage impact is expected to be uneven both spatially and temporally.

vi) This asymmetry indicated above is manifested in chronic core-periphery inequality. Strategies of decentralization are the only

solution, and because the sources of growth are largely outside of both the national core region and the underdeveloped regional economy which tends to continually reproduce relations of exchange through external investment, aid, and trade as well as via the ownership of key technology, production assets and other resources, it cannot be easily implemented.

vii) The concept of growth poles is sensitive to the spatial impact of development impulses, but it is impossible to generalize upon the question of scale and its impact on development.

viii) Growth pole strategies depend to a certain degree on mobility of capital and labour. The attraction of agglomeration economies causes leakage of both capital and labour out of non-metropolitan regions as the private returns of capital as well as labour are higher in the core areas.

Gregory and Smith (1989) in a further criticism of the concept allude to technical, temporal problems as well as the extent to which the concept conforms to the productive and reproductive demands of the society in which it is located. These thus constitute the major inadequacies of its application. For instance the technical problems which they highlight include:

1). the interdependent decisions to be made on an appropriate location, threshold size and sectoral composition of a growth pole within an urban or regional network of firms;

2). the distinction between spontaneous and planned poles with the need in the latter case at least, for integrated and physical planning;

3). the nature of the intersectoral and interregional transmission of growth;

4). the facilitative relationship between state-provided services and 'infrastructure' and the success of the growth pole;

5). the relationships between the pole and the existing, unevenly developed, city distributions; and

6). the need for monitoring and management to avoid diseconomies.

Lipton (1976) in his critique of the growth pole and top-down development models advocates that the most important conflict in the developing countries is urban bias as enunciated in the differentiations between urban and rural people and areas. He rejects the views that: i) there is no clear distinction between urban and rural; ii) that this dualistic distinction is simplistic; iii) that the real division lies between capital cities and the rest of their national system; and iv) that a sectoral industrial-agricultural division is of more significance in providing an explanation for poverty distribution. He also provided a useful account of the relative flows between town and country.

3.3.c. A SYSTEMS MODEL OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Another theoretical perspective with which to conceptualize rural-urban migration (hence urbanization) is the systems approach. Because systems analysis can yield insights into the structural characteristics and behaviour of the interacting phenomena, the approach provides an appropriate conceptual framework for visualizing geographical problems emanating from rural-urban migration as a major component of urbanization in developing countries. Within a systems framework we could view migration not only as a result of the aggregate of collective forces, 'adjustment mechanisms' but also as a process linking the dual systems of socioeconomic organization - the rural and urban systems control sub-systems.

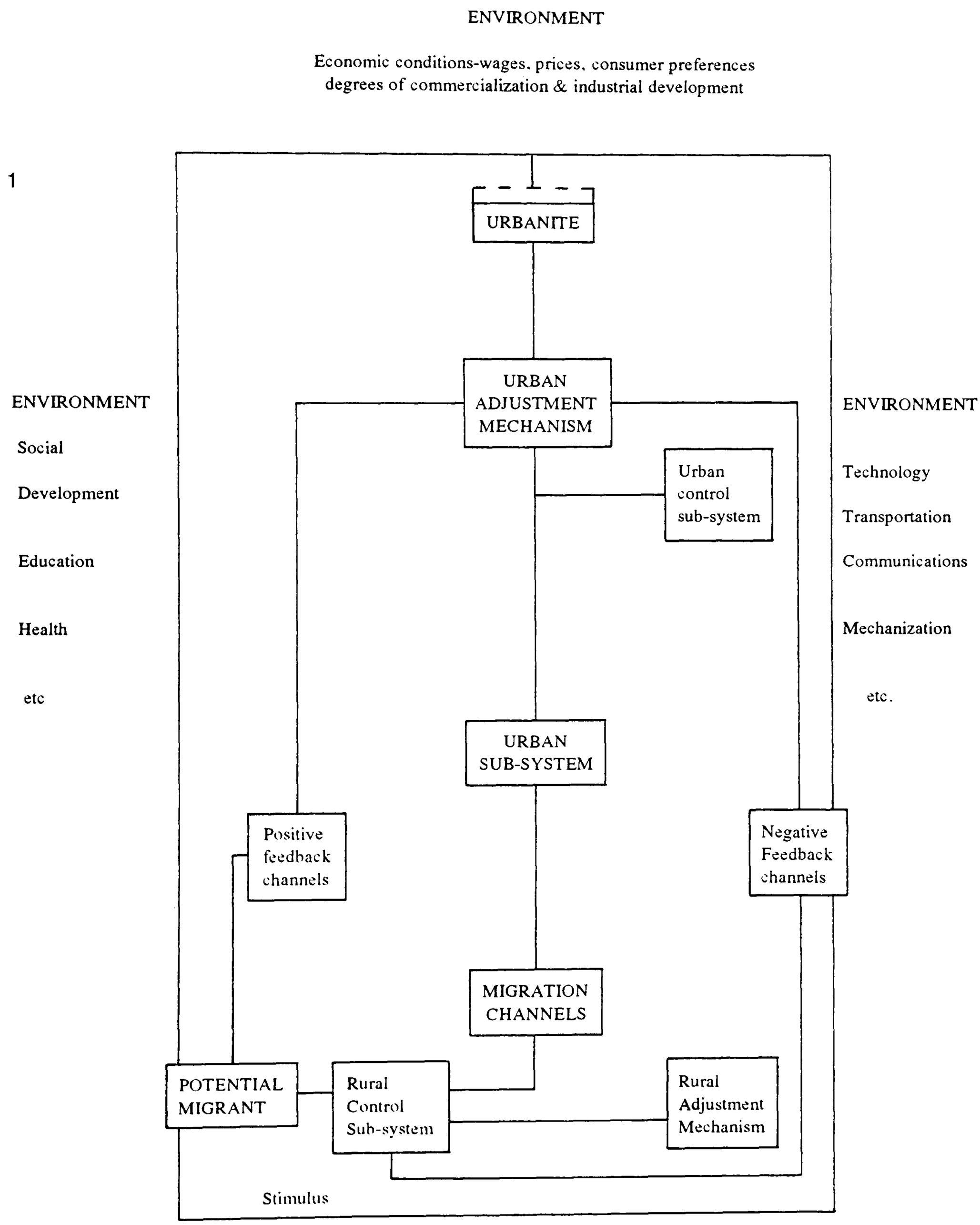
Mabogunje (1970) has set forth a systems model of rural-urban migration as shown in figure 3.3. According to him the systems approach "has the fundamental advantage of providing a conceptual framework within which a whole range of questions relevant to an understanding of the structure and operation of other systems can be asked of the particular phenomenon under study." For urbanization the questions are highlighted as:

Why and how does an essentially rural individual become a permanent city dweller?

What changes does he undergo in the process?

FIGURE 3.3 A SYSTEMS MODEL OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION.

(Mabogunje, A. L, 1970)



What effects have these changes both on the rural area from which he comes and on the city to which he moves?

Are there situations or institutions which encourage or discourage the rate of movement between the rural area and the city?

What is the general pattern of these movements, and how is this determined?

Chadwick (1987) also highlights the adequacy of the systems theory as a framework in modelling urban and regional systems, as many aspects of the systems theory seem to be demonstrated by urbanization phenomena. These areas include:

1) The exponential or logistic growth of population (and its decay), and of urbanized population, of population/distance effects in cities and in the demographic transition.

2) Competition and exclusion, as demonstrating relative feedback patterns eg. hotelling, and rental/accessibility/land value patterns.

3) The rank size rule, and other Pareto distributions as well as the allometric law.

4) Hierarchical order relationships as in central-place and other patterns.

5) The general operation of feedback; of conditions of homeostasis and morphogenesis; of conditions of stability and complexity; of threshold situations and homeostatic plateaux.

6) The phenomenon of equifinality, shown by urban systems, for example, the growth of very large cities through migration at various historical times, or the urban/rural ecological relationship at various times and in various civilizations and cultures.

3.4. MODELS OF URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION

Preston (1975) has outlined the main categories of the interaction between town and country as follows:

a. The transfer of people, ie. migration, both long and short term.

b. The flows of goods, services and energy.

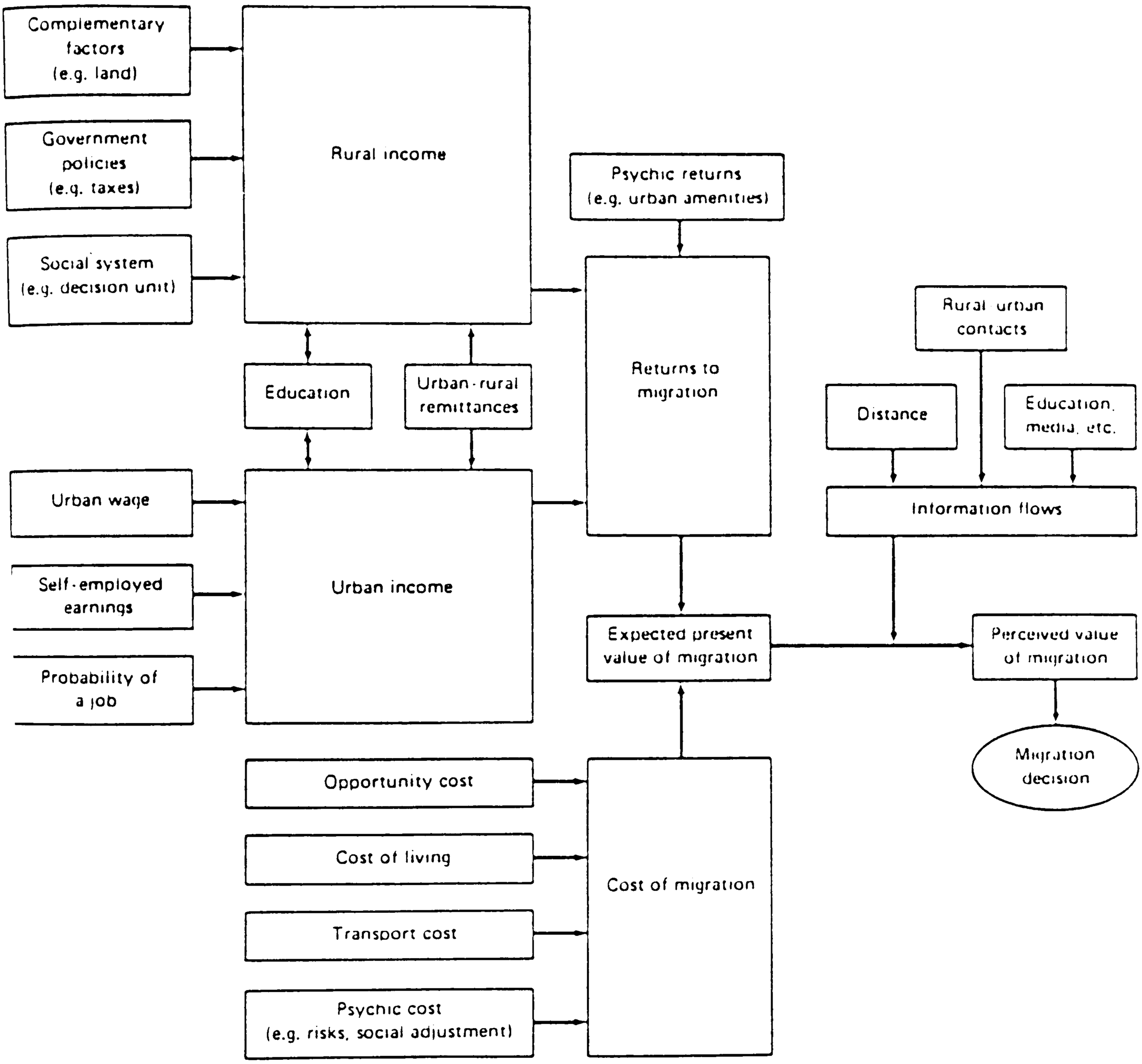
c. Financial transfers through trade, taxes and state disbursements.

d. The transfer of assets: Property rights, allocation of state investment and capital in other forms.

e. The flow of information: technical information and social ideas.

They provide a useful insight into the gamut of the divergent ways of urban-rural interaction. Unwin (1989), has also provided a useful insight into the ramifications of such interaction in

Figure 3.4 A schematic framework for the analysis for the migration decision.
SOURCE: Byerlee, D. (1974).



his model of urban-rural linkages, flows and interaction (table 3.2) . The model itemises the linkages as economic, social, political and ideological. Within the economic linkages, flows take the form of labour, money, food, vehicles commodities etc, while interaction is in labour/capital, marketing, shopping and transport. In social linkages the flows involve people, correspondence, telephone calls and medicine, while interaction is between social groups, family, friends and class. Political linkages are exhibited in power, authority, budgetary allocation and law, while interaction is through political action, lobbying, the provision of justice and allegiance payments. Ideological linkages on the other hand, flow through ideas, books, radio and television, while interaction is by religious activity, education and advertising.

More comprehensively, Rondinelli (1985) has provided a broad basis for the analysis of these major linkages in spatial perspective as indicated in the table 3.2 below.

Rondinelli's approach is centred on linkages, both between rural areas and small cities, and on those between smaller and larger cities. He considers linkages as crucial because "the major markets for agricultural surpluses are in urban centres; most agricultural inputs come from organizations in cities; workers seek employment as rising agricultural productivity frees rural labour; and many of the social, health, educational, and other services that satisfy basic human needs in rural areas are distributed from urban centres." He therefore advocates secondary

city development as a better alternative to the growth pole concept believing that "decentralized investment in strategically located settlements can create the minimal conditions that enable rural people to develop their own communities through 'bottom up' and autonomous processes."

The importance he attaches to small or secondary cities verges on the functions they can perform. These functions he lists as follows:

1). They can provide convenient locations for decentralizing public services through municipal governments, field offices of national ministries or agencies, or regional or provincial government offices, thereby creating greater access for both urban and rural residents to public services and facilities that require population thresholds of 100,000 or more.

2). They can offer sufficiently large populations and economies of scale to allow the concentration within them of health, education, welfare, and other services, and act as regional or provincial centres for a variety of basic social services and facilities.

3). They usually offer a wide variety of consumer goods and commercial and personal services through small-scale enterprises and through extensive 'informal sector' activities.

TABLE 3.2. A CLASSIFICATION OF MAJOR LINKAGES IN SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT (Rondinelli, D.A. 1985:143.)

LINKAGE TYPE	ELEMENTS
Physical linkages	Road networks, River and water transport networks, Railroad networks, Ecological interdependencies.
Economic linkages	Market patterns, Raw materials and intermediate goods flows, Capital flows, Production linkages-backward, forward and lateral, Consumption and shopping patterns, Income flows, Sectoral and interregional commodity flows, 'Cross linkages'.
Population Movement	Migration-Temporary and permanent, Journey to work.
Technological linkages	Technological interdependencies, Irrigation systems, Telecommunication systems.
Social interaction linkages	Visiting patterns, Kinship patterns, Rites, rituals and religious activities, Social group interaction.
Service delivery linkages	Energy flows and networks, Credit and financial networks, Education training and extension linkages, Health service delivery systems, Professional, Commercial and technical service patterns, Transport service systems.
Political, administrative and organizational linkages	Structural relationships, Government budgetary flows, Organizational interdependencies, Authority-approval-supervision patterns, Interjurisdictional transaction patterns, Informal political decision chains.

4). Many act as regional marketing centres offering a wide variety of distribution, transfer, storage, brokerage, credit, and financial services through their regularly scheduled and institutionalized markets or through periodic markets and bazaars.

5). They often provide conducive conditions for the growth of small-and-medium scale manufacturing and artisan and cottage industries that can serve local markets and satisfy internal demand for low cost manufactured goods, and some also support large scale industrial activities.

6). Many act as agroprocessing and agricultural supply centres for their regions and provide services to rural populations in their hinterlands.

7). They often create conditions - through relatively high levels of population concentration, advantageous economies of scale, marketing and agroprocessing functions, and linkages to rural communities- that are conducive to the commercialization of agriculture and to increasing agricultural productivity and income in their immediately surrounding hinterlands.

8). They can be sources of off-farm employment and supplementary income for rural people and through remittances of migrants, provide additional sources of income to people living in rural towns and villages in their regions.

9). They often serve as area wide or regional centres of transportation and communications, linking their residents and those of rural villages and towns in their hinterlands to larger cities and other regions in the country.

10). They can absorb substantial numbers of people migrating from rural areas to urban centres, transforming a "rural-to-primate city" migration pattern to a "stepwise" pattern, and offer long term or permanent residence to some migrants, thereby creating a more balanced distribution of urban population.

11). They can function effectively as centres of social transformation by: a) accommodating social heterogeneity and encouraging the integration of people from diverse social, ethnic, religious and tribal groups;
b) accommodating organizations that help to socialize and assimilate rural people into city life, supporting them during their transition and mediating conflicts among them;
c) infusing new attitudes, behaviour, and lifestyles that are more conducive to urban living;
d) providing opportunities for economic and social mobility and
e) offering new economic and social opportunities for women.

12. They can be channels for the diffusion of innovation and change, the spread of benefits of urban development, the stimulation of rural economies, and the integration of urban centres and rural settlements within their regions through social, economic and administrative linkages.

Figure 3.5. **A MODEL OF URBAN-RURAL LINKAGES, FLOWS AND INTERACTION.**

LINKAGES	FLOWS	INTERACTION
ECONOMIC	Labour Money Food Vehicles Commodities Energy Credit Raw materials	Labour\Capital Marketing Shopping Transport
SOCIAL	People Correspondence Telephone calls Medicine	Social groups Family Friends Class
POLITICAL	Power Authority Budgetary allocation Law	Political action Lobbying Justice provision Allegiance payments
IDEOLOGICAL	Ideas Books Radio Television	Religious activity Education Advertising

SOURCE: Unwin, T. (1989) "Urban-rural interaction in developing countries: A theoretical perspective." in Mountjoy, Alan, B: Publications. p.27.

3.5. TOWARDS AN APT THEORY OF URBANIZATION AND URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

Clarke (1984) has appreciated the problem of an acceptable model of urbanization and migration in developing countries when he alludes that "the search for general methods and laws has often obscured the complexities of reality." In this vein and in the light of recent empirical studies, Chadwick (1987) has indicated the major areas worthy of consideration in any comprehensive modelling endeavour of urban and regional systems in developing countries. Foremost in his thesis is the lower circuit of the economy. In many cities and city regions, the lower circuit is of fundamental importance to both the local population and local economy. It provides employment thereby enhancing family incomes and offers goods and services suited to local needs and characteristics. Since it contributes significantly to the GDP, though reliant on self-organization as opposed to expensive governmental bureaucracy, it is best and naturally suited to the extant circumstances.

Secondly, an understanding of the national, regional and urban economies will be improved by having more 'comprehensive' models, that is, those which include both the lower and upper circuit phenomena. The addition of this productive sector (presently unacknowledged) would enhance development.

Thirdly, a knowledge of lower circuit relationships via modelling, using realistic data and theoretical bases should help

towards the amelioration of life in the lower circuits, by building on existing achievements and potentialities of these circuits, rather than trying to destroy or ignore them in the name of tidy-mindedness, or planning for 'development' as so often happens.

Fourthly, decisions regarding very large expenditure eg. on transport systems, decentralization of population and industry, new towns, major urban utility systems etc. are being made on the basis of models which although representing a high degree of innovation and ingenious technology, may not include major aspects of urban activity in the lower circuits of urban and regional systems.

Chadwick (1987) has therefore indicated these requirements or procedure for a theory of city systems in developing countries: A theory of systems of cities should:

1) Start from the basis of the examination of the system, per se, using knowledge of the stochastic behaviour of the individual elements (or sub-sub-systems) of the system (ie. individual decision-making units), rather than focusing upon subsystem (i.e. city) relationships.

2) See the system of cities as one in which structure and process are intertwined with activities of individual decision-making unit behaviour, and flows from interactions between the various activities; conversely, activities being derived from flows.

3) Include the operation of feedback loops within these systems, both negative and positive: steady rate of growth or decay taking place at the same time in different elemental subsystems (eg. competition/exclusion), or in different attributes of the same element.

4) Have a structure of input-output relationships between elements (seen as decision-making units, and thus subsystems in their own right), and aggregation of such elements, i.e. subsystems, such relationships being only partly determined or affected by the friction of physical space.

5) Depict a system in which the stochastic processes predominate, describable as various forms of statistical distributions at various points in time.

6) Allow of far-from-equilibrium conditions obtaining, in which self organization and new morphological structure may develop.

7) Essentially be a system processing and transforming information and energy as well as food, water, air, money, goods, vehicles, and describable fully only in those terms.

8) Have a concern for the following attributes of activity system functional relationships:

Linkages or functional interactions of a general kind, realized and potential;

Nodes or clusters of intensity of functional interaction;

Hierarchies, or relative degrees of interaction, or numbers or strengths of interaction;

Fields or areas of interaction, real and potential.

(Nodes, linkages, and fields are all interaction concepts, interaction depending upon function and structure. The differences between the three aspects, may be one of degree, or the passing of some possibly arbitrary threshold. Hierarchy is also concerned with degree or strength of interaction of relationship.)

9) Following from (8), probably including a series of progressive behaviourial patterns as the system or subsystem is carried from one steady state condition 'plateau of stability' to another via appropriate threshold situations.

3.6. **CONCLUSION.**

In conclusion, the models and approaches discussed above even with their shortcomings constitute viable frameworks with which to theorize on the ramifying phenomena of urbanization and urban-rural interaction. As already indicated the approaches cannot be exactly replicated or applied in all places due to varying factors which could be cultural, economic, political and spatial. It is in this context that we must view urbanization and urban-rural interaction as they apply to developing countries and their regional urban systems, in Africa and elsewhere. The dynamic nature of these processes and the apparently different conditions under which they occur highlights the need for further research and investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY AREA: CROSS RIVER STATE. GENERAL GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS, THE URBAN SUB-SYSTEM, AND THE OBUDU LGA RURAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

4.1. INTRODUCTION.

The historical importance of the Cross River state lies principally in its colonial legacy. Calabar, its capital city is reputed to have been the first administrative capital of Nigeria before its eventual relocation at Lagos (Ajayi and Ikara, 1985; Morrill, 1963). Thus it served as the capital of the British Oil Rivers protectorate of southern Nigeria between 1883-1906. Prior to the colonial era Calabar was an important port for slaves and palm oil export.

In the regional disposition of the country shortly after independence, it played second fiddle to Enugu which was then the capital of eastern Nigeria, but retained the status of state capital in the successive state creation exercises of 1967 (South eastern state), and 1976 (when the name south eastern state was changed to Cross River state, but boundaries were not affected). In the 1987 exercise, its 'mainland' part was carved out and made Akwa Ibom state. In its present form following the new local government reconstitutioning of 27th August 1991, Cross River state has fourteen local government council areas. These are Calabar, Odukpani, Akamkpa, Yakkurr, Akpabuyo, Abi, Baise, Boki, Obubra, Ikom, Ogoja, Yala, Obudu and Obanlikwu (table 4.1).

4.2. **PHYSICAL BACKGROUND.**

a.) **LOCATION AND SIZE.**

Cross River state is located in the south eastern far corner of Nigeria, between latitudes 5° 32′ and 4° 27′ north of the equator, and longitudes 7° 50′ and 9° 28′ east of the prime meridian (See figure 4.1). On its western boundary are situated Akwa Ibom, Abia, and Enugu states. To its north is Benue state, while the Cameroon republic bounds it on the east. On its southern fringe is the Atlantic ocean. It has an area of 23,074.425 km^2, and a 129 km atlantic coastline.

b.) **ASPECTS OF RELIEF AND TOPOGRAPHY.**

The State has a subdued relief generally lying below 200metres above sea level. A major deviation from this rolling terrain are the eastern highlands that make up the foothills of the Cameroon mountains. The Cross River section is represented in the Oban (900m) and Obudu plateaux (1,200m). In the later can be found the Obudu cattle ranch, a resort with a mild temperate climate, that spreads over 100 km2 (Udo 1976, Floyd 1969, Morgan 1986).

c.) **VEGETATION.**

The vegetation is characterized by mangrove swamp forest in the south, unfolding into a secondary rainforest zone in the north, with a small section of montane vegetation in the north east.

The mangrove swamp forest occurs where deltaic muds and silts accumulate, as in tidal creeks and around brackish lagoons, while the coastal vegetation is represented in strand and sandbank vegetation which occurs in the form of shrubs, grasses and herbs with a rare stunted bush which survive in almost pure sand and a perpetually moist salt-laden environment.

FIG. 4.1 LOCATION & ADMIN. DIV. OF CRS. STATE.

On slightly rising ground, around freshwater creeks and lagoons, not reached by brackish water, freshwater swamp forest appears. It comprises an irregular growth of various different trees, shrubs, lianas, swamp lilies and grasses.

The rainforest exhibits an association of flora in several identifiable strata, with tree canopies that can rise up to 40 metres. However the rainforest east and south of the Cross river has slightly different characteristics in relation to that found in the rest of the region. This according to Floyd (1969), is in part because the river has formed a western limit of some plants common in central or equatorial Africa but rarely found beyond the Cross river, either in western Nigeria or other forest areas of west Africa. For example, the forests in the Oban hills are more completely evergreen than those on the coastal sands of the south-western part of the region. A greater part of the rainforest is secondary as it has been exploited by man for agriculture (traditional methods of 'slash and burn' and 'salvage-felling' are very destructive indeed), timber and settlements with increasing population and new roads development.

The secondary vegetation lacks the lushness and luxuriance of the original plant cover. That which can be regarded as primary is found in forest reserves in Akamkpa and Boki local government areas.

On the Obudu plateau, which is an extension of the Cameroon highlands, can be found a small extent of montane vegetation. The Sankwala mountains, as part of the plateau, rise to nearly 2,000 metres, and montane rain and mist forest, which originally consisted of a rich mixture of trees, epiphytes, tree ferns and mosses, occupies most of the lower slopes. This reflects the high humidity of the area. The forest vegetation ceases at about 1,500 metres to be replaced by knee-height montane grasses in compact tussocks.

The vegetation reflects the abundant yet varying amounts of precipitation. In the coastal areas rainfall amounts of 3000mm are common. This depletes gradually to a low of 2500mm in the northern parts of the state. The rainfall thus decreases continuously from the coast inland and also from the elevations of the eastern highlands westwards.

4.3. **POPULATION:**

4.3.a. **Density and Distribution.**

The population of Cross River state based on the 1991 census is 1,865,604 spread over its 14 local government areas (table 4.1). This population is dominantly rural with 65% of the population distributed in hamlets and villages, or in isolated rural homes. It is informative however that Cross River state is in eastern Nigeria which is among the most densely settled areas in sub-saharan Africa inspite of the widespread environmental handicaps of indifferent or poor soils, dissected terrain, seasonal water supply inadequacies, etc. (Floyd, 1969). Floyd further contended that the congested townships and crowded villages constitute the twin manifestations of the overpopulation of the region. It would seem that utilizing the 1991 figures, only Calabar municipality can be considered as highly populated with density exceeding 300 per km^2. The other parts of the state fall into the low density category under Floyd's (1969) classification, where densities are frequently below 100 (Akampka, Akpabuyo, Biase, Boki, Ikom, Obanlikwu, Odupkani and Yala), but might extend to 160 per square km (Abi LGA).

Although Cross River state is located in the eastern region which registers among the most densely populated areas of Nigeria, its population density is sparse when compared to the Akwa Ibom, Abia, Anambra, Enugu and Imo states.

In 1987, its population density was 246.58/km^2 as compared to 598.45/km^2 and 392.92/km^2 for Imo and Anambra states respectively. Lagos state which contains the outgoing capital of the country has the highest population density of 1,182.51/km^2, while Abuja the designated federal capital territory and Niger state are the least densely populated with 35.89 and 32.06 respectively.

Table 4.1. Local government areas and the population of Cross River state.

LGA	AREA (km^2)	POPULATION (1991)	DENSITY (km^2)
Abi	333.8	72,618	217.55
Akamkpa	5,628	114,924	20.42
Akpabuyo	1,386	96,192	69.40
Biase	1,163	93,362	80.28
Boki	2,537	137,618	54.24
Calabar municipality	363.6	320,862	882.45
Ikom	2,629	175,624	66.80
Obanlikwu	1,176	50,001	42.52
Obubra	1,044	138,429	132.59
Obudu	659	89,822	136.30
Odukpani	1,518	110,903	73.06
Ogoja	1,435	168,889	117.69
Yakurr	1,327	140,956	106.22
Yala	1,874	155,404	82.92
TOTAL	23,074	1,865,604	(Av.) 80.85

SOURCE: 1991 provisional census figures.

A cohort analysis of the population indicates a very large youthful component (table 4.2). The five years and below cohort constitutes 19.38%, the 6-14 group 25.28%, while the working population in the constituent 15-44 cohorts makes up 46.36%. Members of the population who are above 45 constitute only 8.98% of the total population. Thus there is a high dependency ratio of 53.64%. This presents a highly disadvantageous situation on a state which is only potentially rich in comparison with other states of the federation.

Table 4.2. Age composition of the population of Cross River state.

Age cohorts	Population (1989)	% of total population
< 5	356,720	19.38
6-14	465,881	25.28
15-44	854,099	46.36
45-65	127,222	6.90
> 65	38,326	2.08
TOTAL	1,842,248	100.00

SOURCE: Adapted from:
Cross River state Quarterly statistical abstract, July 1989, p.1.

4.3.b. **Sex Composition Of Population.**

The 1991 census (provisional results) show a preponderance of males over females in the gender composition of the state. Out of a total population of 1,865,604, there are 945,270 males and 920,334 females (table 4.8).

A similar pattern of male/female distribution is shown in the population of the LGAs although, there is a slight variation of the sex ratios. While Abi, Obanlikwu, Ogoja and Yala LGAs have more females than males, the other LGAs have greater number of males than females. Calabar municipality is the LGA with the greatest difference in male/female ratio, where there are 166,203 males to 154,659 females.

4.3.c. **Ethnic Composition Of Population.**

The ethnic composition of the state shows the Efik in Calabar, Akamkpa and Odukpani LGAs, the Ekuri-Yakurr (and minor ones like the Akunakuna and Bahumunu), Nkembe (with the Oshopong, Adun, Okum, Iyalla, Ofombonga, Nta and Nselle as sub-groups) in Ugep and Obubra LGAs, Ejagham (Ekoi) and Boki in Ikom, Bekwarra, Ishibori and Iyalla in Ogoja and Bette, Utugwang and the Obanlikwu in Obudu and Obanlikwu LGAs respectively. Smaller groups comprising the Utanga, Becheve, Belegete and Bebi occupy the much dissected Obudu plateau.

4.3.d. **Settlement Patterns.**

In the regional setting of eastern Nigeria, settlements are hierarchical in various spatial diversifications, that can be dispersed or nucleated. Single isolated compounds are common in the upper Cross River basin. Hamlets or small villages are aggregations of compounds occupied by members of an extended family (kindred) or common clan. While a hamlet could contain up to a dozen or more compounds with a population ranging from 50 to 200 people, a village may have an average population of between 1000 and 5000 inhabitants (Floyd, 1969). These are separated from other clusters of rural residences by their outer, rotational farmlands, or stretches of secondary forest and savanna.

In a classification of settlement patterns in eastern Nigeria by Floyd (1969), Cross River state shows three distinct subgroups:

a) Areas with villages separated by a broad extent of farmland (over 5 km.);

b) Areas of widely scattered villages and

c) Areas virtually unsettled.

In the first sub-group are villages in the west of Ogoja, where the distribution of rural settlements is marked by clusters of farming peoples surrounded by sizeable areas of cropland, 'bush' and grass fallow or secondary high forest.

In the second sub-group located in the northern cross river basin, are small hamlets and villages, numerically limited and widely separated from each other. In these areas the settlements are compact and lightly populated due to the difficult topography brought about by the Obudu uplands and the surrounding piedmont areas. The same applies to the Oban hills which provide for small and widely separated villages.The communities around Ikom and Boki however are larger and more frequent due to the more favourable terrain and soil conditions.

The third sub-group is represented by the villages situated within and around the forest reserves of Calabar, Akamkpa and Odukpani areas.

4.4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES.

4.4.a. RESOURCE ENDOWMENT AND UTILIZATION.

Cross River state is predominantly an agricultural area and its population is mainly rural. Due to this agriculture can be considered as the main focus of the economy especially in plantation agriculture, foodcrop and animal production, and crop processing (table 4.iv). The main cash crops include cocoa, palm oil, groundnuts, yams and rubber, while food crops are cassava, yams, coco-yams, etc. Cocoa is grown mainly in Ikom where the highly acidic soil is favourable, palms predominate throughout the state, groundnuts in the northern parts and rubber thrives in the Odukpani and Akamkpa areas.

It should be noted that some of this published data omits the large number of peasant farmers and informal sector activities in both rural and urban areas alike, even though these sectors make substantial contribution to the economy. It seems practically impossible to record the activities of these sectors.

The food crops are cultivated commonly in the rural areas by subsistence methods of rotational bush fallowing, mixed cropping and animal husbandry. Yam is a major crop of importance generally in the whole state. In the Yakkurr LGA for example, highly respectful 'titles' are accorded successful farmers (those that produce over 100,000 yam tubers), while in other communities there is an annual festival for the commencement of the harvest. Fruits are grown in small orchards adjoining residential compounds, as well as vegetables. Poultry and domesticated animals such as goats, sheep, rabbits and pigs are kept as well. Cattle rearing is uncommon, but the climate of the Obudu plateau is conducive for ranching and the government maintains a company, the Obudu ranching company, a relic of the former Eastern Nigerian Development Corporation (ENDC).

Table 4.3. Personnel in public and private agricultural establishments in Cross Rivers state, 1988.

Local government	Plantation Agriculture	Food crop and animal production	Crop Processing	TOTAL
Akamkpa	4,181	1,059	264	5,504
Calabar	277	3,787	190	4,254
Ikom	7,362	1,006	365	8,733
Obubra	598	314	254	1,166
Obudu	2,231	1,063	365	3,659
Odukpani	4,121	2,634	201	6,956
Ogoja	2,894	707	355	3,956
TOTAL	21,664	10,570	1,994	34,228

Source: Cross River state quarterly statistical abstract, July 1989, p.7.

Table 4.4. Agricultural production in Cross River state, 1985-1988.

Estimated quantity (tonnes)

ITEM/CROP	1985	1986	1987	1988
Gari	36,500	78,200	102,500	204,500
Yam	24,040	43,000	120,200	215,000
Rice	9,000	12,050	18,000	44,100
Beans	8,500	18,300	24,500	38,500
Plantain	6,000	8,000	9,000	12,000
Fish	4,500	9,000	12,000	14,000
Palm oil	35,750	45,000	232,375	292,500
Melon	4,000	4,500	5,000	8,000
Pepper	2,000	3,000	2,400	3,600
Tomatoes	5,500	6,000	6,600	7,200
Vegetables	2,800	2,500	3,000	4,500
Cocoa	20,000	30,000	100,000	150,000
Palm kernel	107,250	135,500	464,825	495,500
Rubber	15,200	25,000	76,000	125,000
Maize	32,400	41,400	64,800	82,800

SOURCE: Cross River state agricultural development corporation (ADC). CRS quarterly statistical abstract, July 1989, p.8.

Cross River state has often fondly yet regrettably been referred to as a civil service state. This is because the state is the highest employer of labour with 33,201 civil servants in its ministries, parastatals, primary and post primary schools and colleges, local governments and extra-ministerial departments (see table 4.5.). The 33,201 employed by government is only 3.38% of the active population of 981,331 (age 15-65).

Although published data as shown in tables 4.3; 4.5 and 4.6 reflect the occupational spread in the state to an extent, the data omits the large number of 'peasant' farmers and informal sector activities.

Table 4.5. Distribution of personnel in C.R.State government establishments, 1988.

Establishment(Ministry/parastatal/department/institution.	Number of employees.
Ministries (10)	10,085
Extra-ministerial depts. (14)	6,519
Local governments (13)	2,924
Government parastatals (6)	3,482
Public post-primary institutions.	2,911
Primary schools	7,280
TOTAL	33,201

SOURCE: Cross Rivers State Statistics Abstracts Quarterly, July, 1989.

4.4.b. INDUSTRIAL/COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES DEVELOPMENT.

This can rightly be said to be in its infancy with government being the main owner of industrial concerns (see tables 4.6 and 4.7). Private investment involvement in industries is only minimal, while the informal sector is very significant in commercial services. According to Mutizwa-Mangiza (1991:366),

> 'The informal sector in many African cities is now so pervasive that it encompasses, in terms of enterprise ownership, the entire socio-economic class spectrum, from recent and near-destitute immigrants, to top civil servants and politicians.'

In 1991, the Federal government through decree 34, designated Calabar as the first of the country's export processing zones (EPZ), with the aim of enhancing foreign investment. The decree provides for exemption from all federal, state and local government taxes, levies and rates, all enterprises approved to operate in the zone. If the EPZ is successful, Calabar may become a major industrial centre in the near future.

Table 4.6. Employment by business/industrial establishments in C.R. state, 1988.

KIND OF ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS	NUMBER EMPLOYED
Manufacturing	783	3,644
Services	5,328	11,349
Agricultural holdings	3,565	47,542
Retail/Wholesale trade	7,692	14,508
Hotels/Restaurants	3,351	5,826
Banking/Insurance	41	1,871
Building & Construction	79	1,098
Mining & Quarrying	8	5,445
Gas & ass.works	2	24
Water supply	5	162
Electricity generation	3	374
TOTAL	20,857	91,843

SOURCE: Cross River state Quarterly statistical abstract, Ministry of economic planning, July 1989, p.10.

Table 4.7. Major industrial companies in Cross River state.

NAME OF INDUSTRY	LOCATION	OWNERSHIP
CALCEMCO ltd.	Calabar	FGN/state govt.
C.R.S. Limestones ltd.	Calabar	"
Niger mills ltd.	Calabar	FGN/state/private
Seromwood industries ltd.	Calabar	FGN/state/Overseas partners
Calabar veneer and plywood company ltd.	Calabar	"
Polyrubber industry ltd.	Akamkpa	C.R. state govt.
Interfruit company ltd.	Odukpani	"
Cassava products ltd.	Obubra	"
Eastern match ltd.	Calabar	"
Meat products ltd.	Obudu	"
Vegetable oil cpy. ltd.	Ogoja	"
DURAFOAM ltd.	Ikom	"
OFBAM plastics ltd.	Calabar	Private
EXCEL plastics ltd.	Calabar	"
SYSTEMETAL	Calabar	"
ALPHA medicals	Calabar	"
Interflora (Indian)	Calabar	"
DECOBAS	Calabar	"

SOURCE: Ministry of industries, trade and commerce, Statistics division, Calabar. 1991.

4.5. **THE CROSS RIVER STATE URBAN SUB-SYSTEM.**

The Cross River state urban sub-system can be considered within three frameworks:

a. The local or state urban sub-system;

b. The regional urban sub-system and

c. Cross River state within the national urban system.

4.5.a. **LOCAL OR STATE URBAN SUB-SYSTEM.**

Undoubtably, Calabar is the main focus of the local or state urban system. It is the capital of the state and also a port city. Its colonial legacy has conferred on it much significant importance. As a one time national capital (1902-1906) the work of the colonialists set the pace for international trade and trade with the hinterland, leading to the setting up of the Eastern Niger company. It became also a slave post. The work of the missionaries, notably Mary Slessor led to the eradication of the obnoxious policy of 'death to twins' and improvement in education with the building of the Hope Waddell Training Institute, one of the foremost high schools in Nigeria to date.

The presence of Federal government institutions and projects such as the university of Calabar, the Calabar port, Calcemco, Niger Flour Mills ltd, and others has maintained this pride of place. Uyo, which was a business competitor in the state was edged out with the creation of Akwa Ibom state in 1987, of which it became the capital.

Other urban centres in the state are mostly the headquartres of some of the other local government areas. These include Odukpani, Abi, Baise, Boki, Akpabuoyo, Akamkpa, Ugep,

Table 4.8. Population (Sex distribution) of Cross River State, 1991.

Local Government Area	Males	Females	Total
Abi	35,426	37,192	72,618
Akamkpa	59,103	55,821	114,924
Akpabuyo	49,218	46,974	96,192
Biase	47,339	46,023	93,362
Boki	70,906	66,712	137,618
Calabar municipality	166,203	154,659	320,862
Ikom	91,495	84,129	175,624
Obanlikwu	24,398	25,603	50,001
Obubra	69,665	68,764	138,429
Obudu	45,137	44,685	89,822
Odukpani	56,273	54,630	110,903
Ogoja	82,906	85,983	168,889
Yakurr	71,298	69,658	140,956
Yala	75,903	79,501	155,404
TOTAL	945,270	920,334	1,865,604

SOURCE: Federal Republic of Nigeria 1991 Population Census (Provisional results).

Yala, Obubra, Ikom, Ogoja, Obanlikwu and Obudu. With the additional creation of six new local government areas in August 1991, these other towns can now be rightly called urban.

These LGAs include Ikot Nakanda (Akpabouyo), Itigidi (Abi), Akpet central (Baise), Buje (Boki), Okpoma (Yala), and Sankwala (Obanlikwu). See figure 4.1. and tables 4.1, 4.8. But if we utilize the minimum of 20,000 population as the criteria for the designation of an urban centre, it seems very unlikely that towns like Sankwala would be urban centres when the total population of the LGA is 50,001 (1991 population provisional figures), even though they are LGA headquarters.

4.5.b. **REGIONAL URBAN SUB-SYSTEM.**

The regional urban sub-system of Cross River state encompasses the region of eastern Nigeria made up of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Cross River, Enugu, Imo and Rivers state. Within the region Port Harcourt (Rivers state) stands out as the foremost urban centre (table 4.9, appendix 1 and table 1.7). This is due to the convergence and relatively massive industrial development it has experienced since it became the centre of the country's petroleum industry in the 70's. With many multinational firms both in processing and distribution of petroleum products, together with two of the country's four refineries located here, Port Harcourt (242,000) has become eastern Nigeria's urban nerve centre. In 1973 for instance it became Nigeria's third most important commercial/industrial centre after Lagos and the Kano-Kaduna area. It has a very busy port, next in cargo handling after Lagos and has an equally busy international airport.

In the next hierarchy can be placed Enugu (187,000), Calabar (103,000) and Owerri. Enugu has historical importance as the capital of the former eastern region, and it has remained the capital of subsequent state governments. The existence of coal at Udi and Emene and its extraction has also added to the importance of Enugu. Calabar also enjoys historical relevance having been headquarters of the Niger protectorate, and a former capital of Nigeria. It has also remained the state capital after numerous additional states were created in 1976, 1987 and 1991.

The status of Owerri was also elevated when it became the capital of Imo state in 1976. Aba (177,000), Onitsha (220,000), Nsukka, Awka, Umuahia, Warri and Uyo belong within the same hierarchy and may rightly be regarded as medium-sized towns within the region. Aba, Onitsha and Warri on the one hand are noted as centres of long established commercial activities, the latter more so as a result of its proximity to Port Harcourt, while on the other hand Uyo, Awka and Umuahia joined the group of state capitals with the creation of Akwa Ibom state in 1987, new Anambra and Abia state in 1991 respectively. Nsukka has been a university town of repute since 1960.

The next notch in the hierarchy includes Afikpo, Ogoja, Abakaliki, Eket, and Ikot Ekpene. As provincial headquarters during the colonial era and later on headquarters of senatorial districts, they acquired sub regional importance and influence.

The last layer of centres within the urban regional framework is made up of the other headquarters of local government councils as they now exist. Some of these towns recently acquired urban status (new LGA creation in August, 1992) and they now control both political, educational and economic processes at the local government level, and are therefore centres of population concentration at that level, even though they may not necessarily have populations of up to 20,000. The increase to 20% of the federal revenue allocation to local governments in 1992 has further enhanced their development potential and urban status.

Table 4.9. **Urban centres in Eastern Nigeria (1963.**

Rank	Town	Population	Size
1	Port Harcourt	179,563	Over 150,000
2	Onitsha	163,032	"
3	Enugu	138,457	100-150,000
4	Aba	131,003	"
5	Buguma	100,628	"
6	Calabar	76,410	75-100,000
7	Abonnema	53,261	50-75,000
8	Awka	48,725	25-50,000
9	Ugep	44,945	"
10	Ihiala	40,198	"
11	Ikot Ekpene	38,107	"
12	Afikpo	36,096	"
13	Opobo	35,458	"
14	Oron	34,163	"
15	Abakaliki	31,177	"
16	Bukana	29,592	"
17	Umuahia	28,844	"
18	Nsukka	26,206	"
19	Owerri	26,017	"
20	Nembe	25,032	"
21	Okrika	24,138	10-25,000
22	Omoku	20,323	"
23	Ozubulu	20,000	"
24	Oloibiri	19,314	"
25	Awgu	18,504	"
26	Amassoma	17,246	"
27	Tombia	16,462	"
28	Oguta	15,310	"
29	Uyo	14,470	"
30	Ogoja	13,694	"
31	Ikom	12,952	"
32	Obudu	12,633	"
33	Brass	11,174	"
34	Elele	10,560	"
35	Omoba	9,914	5- 10,000
36	Aro	8,800	"
37	Bonny	7,410	"
38	Okigwi	7,266	"
39	Orlu	7,234	"
40	Ahoada	6,329	"

SOURCE: Adapted from:
Floyd, B. (1969) Eastern Nigeria: A geographical review. p.39. Macmillan.

4.5.c. CROSS RIVER STATE IN THE NATIONAL URBAN SYSTEM.

In the national setting Cross River state was found to be among the least urbanized, in terms of number of towns with a population of 20,000 and more (population) in 1963. In an analysis utilizing the 1963 census figures by Alao and Adegbola (1978, see table 4.11), Cross River state, then south eastern state showed an urbanization index of only 7.80, only higher than Kano state with 5.95.

Table 4.10. Nigerian Urban Development 1952/53-1963

Population	1952/53	1963
5,000-9,999	177	1,808
10,000-19,999	73	573
Above 20,000	56	183

SOURCE: Udo, R.K
1952/53 and 1963 census figures, Federal office of statistics, 1953 and 1965.

In the same manner, if we were to consider that the number of LGAs per state represents the number of urban centres in that state, then Cross River would be also among the least urbanised. Among the 30 states it has 14 LGAs more than only Niger (12), Yobe (10) and Adamawa (10).

Considering population numbers as another criteria, only Calabar the state capital has over 100,000 inhabitants, and it was placed 26th in the country in a classification by the UN in 1986 (table 1.7). From the foregoing it might rightly be said that urban development in Cross River state is still at the embryo stage within the national framework.

Table 4.11. Urbanization index in Nigeria, 1963.

State	% share of pop.	% share of land area	Population density	Urbanization index
Benue Pl.	7.20	11.02	102.3	8.88
East central	12.98	2.30	625.9	12.17
Kano	10.37	4.38	347.3	5.95
Kwara	4.31	7.55	83.7	19.73
Lagos	2.59	1.51	1,045.6	72.55
Midwest	4.56	4.04	170.0	11.19
North central	7.37	7.10	151.2	11.85
North east	14.00	31.83	74.2	11.33
North west	10.29	17.12	88.0	10.11
Rivers	2.77	1.85	221.2	16.13
South east	6.50	3.62	330.8	7.80
West	17.05	7.67	326.0	51.04
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	156.1	19.23

SOURCE: Adapted from:
Alao, and Adegbola (1978) Nigerian geographical journal vol.21, no.2 p.164.

4.6. OBUDU LGA IN CROSS RIVER STATE: THE RURAL VILLAGES AND RURAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

4.6.a. LOCATION AND SIZE.

Obudu occupies the north eastern corner of Cross River state as shown in figure 4.1. While Ikom LGA is its southern neighbour, Ogoja LGA situates to its west, and Benue state bounds it in the north. On its eastern border is the Federal Republic of Cameroon. The Obudu plateau on which is situated the Obudu holiday resort is included in the foothills of the Cameroonian highland complex.

4.6.b. POPULATION AND RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.

The LGA is made up of 7 clans with 129 settlements (see table 4.12). The clans are Bette, Utugwang, Ukpe/Alege, Bendi, Utanga, Becheve and Obanlikwu. The latter is the largest with 45 settlements.

Table 4.12. **SETTLEMENTS AND COMMUNITIES OF OBUDU LGA 1990.**

CLAN	Number of community/ settlements	Population (1990)
Bette	32	52,710
Utugwang	7	21,950
Ukpe/Alege	20	12,309
Bendi	10	6,934
Utanga	5	7,006
Becheve	10	7,609
Obanlikwu	45	38,557
TOTAL	129	147,075

SOURCE: Derived from Cross River and Akwa Ibom states population bulletin, 1983-1990.

4.6.c. RURAL ECONOMY AND RESOURCE ENDOWMENT.

A basic drawback for economic development of Obudu has always been its sparse population. With a population of 147,075, it has the lowest population of all the local government areas (1990) in the state, although it reputed to have a comparatively high literate population. The resource base of Obudu lies mainly in agriculture, forestry, tourism and ranching. These are discussed below.

4.6.c.1. **AGRICULTURE/CASH CROP BASE.**

Being a rural economy, Obudu is mainly an agricultural resource based economy. Land is seemingly abundant as it is communally owned and this facilitates the acquisition of land for farming. Density is 47.77 persons per km. Rotational bush fallowing is the predominant mode of cultivation, as settlements are now fixed and the population is increasing and stabilizing, while production is mainly for subsistence, with a little sold for cash.

The major crops are yam and cassava, with the former having more importance and cultural significance. Other crops include maize, rice, plantains, groundnuts, fruits, cocoyam, sweet potato and vegetables. Yams, rice, plantains, cocoa, kolanuts, groundnuts and fruits are also sold for cash especially if the harvest is bountiful. Few farmers produce mainly for sale. Market gardens occur near urban centres and river valleys. Around home compounds it is a common feature to have gardens where various crops, fruit trees and vegetables are planted for everyday household use.

Domesticated animals such as goats, sheep, chicken/fowls, and pigs are also kept. Hunting in the farms and the surrounding forests supplements the nutritional requirements of the people.

4.6.c.2. **FOREST RESOURCES.**

Being in an equatorial rainforest zone, Obudu is highly endowed with forest resources. Forest tree species such as iroko, obeche, etc. provide timber for housing and other needs, and for export. The montane vegetation on the Obudu ranch provides more tree specie variety. Fuel wood is also abundant.

On the Obudu/Ikom road, is a forest and animal (gorilla) Kanyang reserve park supported by the World Wildlife Foundation, WWF. It is reputed to have the last remnants of gorillas in the whole of West Africa.

4.6.c.3. **TOURISM AND RANCHING.**

The sub temperate climate existing in the Obudu plateau (1,575 metres a.s.l) has made it possible for the establishment of a ranching complex and holiday facilities that have boosted tourism in the area.

The ranch was initially set up by the Eastern Nigeria Development Corporation in 1954, and subsequently became an asset of the Cross River State government. During recent times it has been developed into a modern holiday resort with an international conference centre, a presidential guest house, hotels and chalet accommodation and squash, lawn tennis, golf and other facilities, for the convenience of tourists.

Cattle, sheep, goats, poultry and other livestock are kept as the ranch is tsetse fly free. It is also conducive for the cultivation of a wide range of vegetables.

In a comprehensive framework, the Cross River State government has drawn up a five year plan for the development of its main tourist centres. These include together with the Obudu cattle ranch, the Kwa falls at Odukpani LGA, the Agbokim falls and the Monoliths at Ikom LGA, and the Mary Slessor Tomb in Calabar.

4.6.c.4. **RURAL MARKET ECONOMY.**

In Obudu, as in most areas of Cross River state, rural markets are common for the exchange of goods and services. These are mainly periodic, while the urban centres may have skeletal daily markets. But here only a few basic items are on display. Roadside markets are not uncommon, and road junctions are advantageous sites for markets. The periodic markets revolve around a five day week, with each day serving as a market day in a particular location.

The main market, Katube is held at Obudu town. This is followed the next day by the Ugidi market at Ohong. On subsequent days markets hold at Sankwala (Lifembe), Utugwang (Udama) and Ukpe and Utanga (Azul). With the circle completed at Azul, it begins again at Katube (See table 4.14 below).

Table 4.14. Market days and location in Obudu LGA.

DAY	NAME OF MARKET	LOCATION OF MARKET	MAJOR ITEMS ON SALE
1	Katube	Obudu town	General
2	Ugidi	Ohong	General
3	Lifembe	Sankwala	Bush meat, gari, plantains, vegetables, etc.
4	Udama	Utugwang	Gari, palm oil, palm wine, etc.
5	Azul	Ukpe/Utanga	Plantains, vegetables, Meat, yams.

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

The sequence of these markets is part of a long established marketing system. The location of these markets is also an indication of the preponderance of particular commodities, as well as some historical connotation. For instance commodities such as plantains, vegetables and meat (dry and fresh) are the attraction in the Azul market that is held at Ukpe and Utanga. This date seems highly suitable as the plantains are brought into Obudu town for shipment to the north on the following day which is Katube.

4.7. THE STATE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN OBUDU.

The state of rural development in Obudu, Cross River state and the country as a whole, is significant because the rural population constitutes a greater proportion of both the state and the country's total population. Most rural areas face poverty, deprivation and neglect, despite the introduction of the structural adjustment programme. They remain marginalized as they lack the basic amenities and needs for respectable sustenance, such as potable treated water supply, electricity, education, health and access roads. In cases where they exist, the amenities are grossly inadequate and ad hoc. Obudu is not an exception.

Urban bias has been indicated as the basic problem following Lipton (1976). Chambers (1983) has identified other biases against rural development as:

1. Spatial biases;
2. Project bias;
3. Person biases- elite, male, user and adopter biases, active, present and living biases;
4. Dry season biases;
5. Diplomatic biases: politeness and timidity, and
6. Professional biases.

The result of these difficulties is that rural people who can, prefer to move to urban areas. This further compounds the problem as the villages lose their able bodied young men and women, due to the selectivity of rural-urban migration. The situation of Obudu seems to have been compounded by the nature of its location. It is located at the extreme north eastern corner of the state, making it least accessible from Calabar, the state capital. Although accessible by road, journeys to or from Calabar take over three hours, through over 320 km; involving breaks invariably at Ogoja, Ikom, Ugep, Akamkpa as the case maybe.

Government efforts at the alleviation of rural poverty, both at

federal and state levels, have been several but with dismal results. Such efforts have included such schemes as:

1. The River Basins and Rural Development Authorities (RBDA), begun in 1976;

2. The Agricultural Development Projects for agricultural development and farmer's welfare, with assistance from the World Bank;

3. The Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), started in 1986;

4. The Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLP) and the

5. National Directorate of Employment (NDE).

It is the non-continuation of these programmes, or lack of emphasis, and the uncoordinated approaches in programme execution that always leads to poor results. For instance, the River Basin Authorities were divested of the responsibility of rural development in 1985, and that function passed on to DFRRI. Although the directorate was provided with N400 million and N500 million in 1987 and 1988 respectively, its visible achievements are yet to be widely felt. In 1992 the federal revenue accruable to LGAs has been raised from 15 to 20%. It is hoped that this will make more funds available and achieve better grassroots development.

4.8. CONCLUSION.

The Cross River State represents a small part in the socio-economic system and the inter rural-urban framework of Nigeria. It is from this perspective that any research about the state becomes significant as it brings into focus the rural-urban linkage aspects desirous of note in a country as diverse as Nigeria.

The expansion in the number of LGAs in the state has presented a viable tool for the devolution of development to the grassroots, as the new 'growth centres' will radiate development impulses to it's nooks and corners. Although the economy is chiefly dominated by oil, to achieve economic prosperity lies in diversification (inclusive of the agricultural sector) and greater involvement of the private sector as well as streamlining the informal sector. A diligent pursuance of these policies would lead to a reduction in unemployment and higher income levels in the rural areas and perhaps arrest rural-urban migration in the long term.

The research methodology and aspects of urban-rural interaction in the state are discussed in the next chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.

5.1. **INTRODUCTION.**

For an indepth and purposive research it is desireable to combine inter-related methodologies to acquire meaningful results. It is in this light that the design for this research is a combination of mutually reinforcing techniques.

5.2.a. **SOCIAL NETWORK APPROACH.**

This study is directed to uncovering the networks of immigrants to towns and their areas of origin, and its significance for the development within the community and the rural area in general. There is an extensive literature on the meaning and theory of networks in social analysis. Basically the analysis attempts to illustrate the structure of social interaction by considering persons as points and their relationships as connecting lines (Granovetter, 1976). Thus a network constitutes a relation in which values are ascribed to lines connecting points which may or may not be numerically weighted (Mitchell, 1975).

This approach was initially conceptualized by Elizabeth Bott (1957), with influence from Barnes' (1954), study of a Norwegian island parish. A person may belong to various different and non-overlapping social networks at any period, while such networks have several different properties: 'Some may be spatially bounded while others are not, some may have dendritic structures while others are web-like, with interlocking ties, clusters, knots or subgraphs' (Knox, 1987:68). Therefore the networks can be looseknit or closeknit, as originally formulated by Bott.

An advantage of this approach is that it allows the researcher to 'map out the complex reality of the interpersonal worlds surrounding specific individuals' (Smith, 1978:108). The social network approach in effect acknowledges that individuals are enmeshed in a web of multiplex relationships that lie within and outside several organizational and categorical boundaries. Another of its advantages is that it is not confined, a priori, to any specific level of analysis as the family or neighbourhood. For instance, Gugler and Flanagan (1978), believe the approach goes beyond specific associational contexts such as neighbourhood and place of work, to develop a clearer holistic perspective of relationship and change.

The appropriateness of this approach in the intepretation of geographical phenomenon is also appreciated by many (Mitchell, 1975; and Reader, 1964). For example, Mitchell asserts that the variations in the behavior of people in any one role relationship may be traced to the effects of the behaviour of other people,

to whom they are linked in one, or several steps, in some other quite different role relationship. According to Reader, since, moreover, the 'network' can be studied without reference to social or physical boundaries, the method at least escapes from presuppositions of closure and equilibruim in rural and urban frameworks.

5.2.b. **TRIANGULATION.**

A feature of this study will be the way in which traingulation is used in utilizing a wide range of types of data, and observation of different individuals, a perspective of different theories and methods which are mutually reinforcing and will go far to overcome the observable weaknesses of the data available.

Triangulation as the other methodology involves the use of multiple data collection strategies. According to Denzin (1978a:28):

> "no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors... Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed. This is termed triangulation. I now offer as a final methodological rule the principle that multiple methods should be used in every investigation."

He identified four basic types of triangulation:

i. Data triangulation- this involves time, space and person dimensions. The person analysis approach has three levels: the aggregate, the interactive and collectivity.

ii. Investigator triangulation - the use of several different evaluators and observers for the same objective or phenomenon.

iii. Theory triangulation - the use of multiple perspectives to interprete a single set of data. The advantages of the theoretical mode of triangulation are that:

a. It minimizes the presentation of sets of propositions in which contradictory ones could be ignored,

b. It permits the widest possible theoretical use of any set of observations through the empirical findings which may add, confirm, or create doubts in numerous other theoretical propositions extant in the field of study, and

c. It encourages systematic continuity in theory and research.

iv. Methodological triangulation - the use of multiple methods to study a single problem or programme, such as interviews, observations, questionaires and documents. It thus entails within-method and between-method triangulation.

5.2.c. **IMPACT STUDIES.**

Impact studies in rural areas as occasioned by influences of village unions in the form of age/peer groups and urban-based community development associations that forms an aspect of this thesis, is important in investigations patterning to the interrelationships in migration and urbanization. This is because the communities respond to different initiatives and influences from within or from outside the rural settlements. As indicated by Ajaegbu (1976), the initiatives can also be individually or communally generated.

The internally generated initiatives could be in the nature of:

a. Development projects of individual innovators and action leaders in the communities,

b. Efforts of returned migrants and the adventurous members of the community,

c. General response by the masses or cooperating groups to urban influences and other agents of change,

d. Spontaneous reponses to markets, government incentives, roads and transportation development.

The externally generated initiatives are those efforts by community members living outside (emigrants), acting

individually, through their families or village/community development unions in urban areas. The later are very influential and at times very powerful in initiating and aiding community development efforts. These facilities and projects in all the sample rural villages were qualitatively surveyed and tabulated and the impact assessed.

5.2.d. **OBSERVATION TECHNIQUES.**

To investigate and appraise development in the rural target villages (including age grades) and the community development associations in urban areas, participant observation was imperative. Gold (1958), distinguishes four categories of participant observation:

i. Complete participant; here the researcher conceals his research role.

ii. Participant as observer; the investigator reveals his role as researcher but devotes a great deal of time and energy in participating in non-research roles.

iii. Observer as participant; mostly a one visit interview.

iv. Complete observer; the researcher observes in unobstrusive ways.

This researcher was initiated into his own age group (*UKOBO*) which provided the opportunity to be a participant observer in the organization, roles and other inner workings of the group. Apart from a few trusted friends in the group, the members did not know that I was undertaking any research activity. The initiation ceremony involves hosting other members of the age group. During this ceremony, the new member is formally registered after paying a fee of N1. Other outstanding dues and contributions that may have been made by the group prior to initiation are also paid up. Dues are 50 kobo per week (five days) while contributions are made when any project is undertaken by the village community as a whole. When such projects involve labour, an age group member can be represented by proxy or a fine is charged commensurate with the scope and extent of the labour involved.

5.2.e. **SURVEY ADMINISTRATION.**

The fieldwork was undertaken in Cross River State, Nigeria between October 1990 and March 1991 (six months inclusive). The research set out to investigate extant linkages (social networks) between immigrants in Calabar and their rural home areas; establish the role of cultural/development associations in urbanward migration and review how migration impacts on rural development in Obudu LGA of Cross River state. It involved both questionaire administration on sample target population, in urban

and rural areas of the state, as well as participant observation and structured interviews where it was necessary. A total of 605 questionaires were administered, 308 on migrants in Calabar, 227 among rural heads of households, and 69 officers of age grade groups (peer groups). Structured, open ended interviews were held with officers of nine community development associations functioning in Calabar and heads of departments/agencies (nondirective or unstandardized) involved in population policy and development generally such as, urban employment and rural development. These include the Directorate For Food Roads and Rural Infrastructure, (DFRRI); Cross River Basin Development Authority, (CRBDA); Better Life Programme For Rural Women (BLP); Cross River Agricultural Development project (CRADP); and the National Directorate of Employment, (NDE).

Assistants were used to facilitate the fieldwork and reduce time and expenses. Information provided by them was verified where possible. They accompanied me on most outings for interviews, and they proved very useful contacts. Where language was a barrier they proved very handy especially in some rural areas.

<u>Assistants:</u>

Urban area: (Calabar) Liwhu Betiang and Christopher Idukwu.

Rural areas: (Obudu LGA) David U. Ugbizi (ADP representative).

5.3. PRIMARY SOURCES OF DATA.

Primary data sources were questionaires and interviews (see appendices 1a, b, c and d; 2.) . These are in five sets for the target sample groups as follows:

i. Urban migrants,

ii. Urban-based community development associations,

iii. Rural development agencies,

iv. Rural heads of households,

v. Age/peer group associations in rural sample centres.

The urban area survey was undertaken in Calabar. Calabar was chosen because it is the state capital, and urban nerve centre of Cross River State, and would therefore have the highest concentration of migrants. The appropriateness of 'judgement samples' as representative of an area has been recognised by Kish (1965:29). He noted that:

> "If a research project must be confined to a single city...I would rather use my judgement to choose a 'typical' city than select one at random."

A reconnaisance survey was first undertaken and the town demarcated into 15 cell blocks or areas covering the entire town (Table 5.1; figure 5.1). Each block/area consists of a major district or a group of streets.

Another aspect of the urban survey involved the identification of cultural/developmental associations (CDAs) of indigens of Obudu local government area resident in Calabar, as well as government parastatals or agencies involved with urban and rural development as earlier indicated.

5.3.a) **SAMPLING FRAME OF MIGRANTS IN CALABAR.**

The sampling frame or list is the keystone around which the selection process must be designed. According to Kish (1965:53) the sampling frame is perfect if every element appears on the list separately, once, only once and nothing else appears on the list. For migration studies, a population frame preferably from a past census, or a migrant list, is needed to prepare a sampling frame. In some instances a population register could be used. In the absence of a population frame a list of areas constituting an area frame would have to be used (Bilsborrow, 1984). But some researchers (Kim and Lee, 1978) found the population register so unrepresentative that it had to be supplemented by 'on the spot listings and sampling' and still may not have been representative (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1979:28). Data lapses and difficulties of this nature bedevil Calabar. For Calabar it was noted that:

i. Various estimates of the population of the town exist (76,418 in the 1963 census; 103,000 UN 1986 and 365,604 according to the

1991 census), but there is no available list of migrants even derived from the 1963 census. Furthermore the movement of many people into Uyo following the creation of Akwa Ibom state in 1987, makes the estimation of the population of Calabar very problematic. The sex ratio of Calabar both in the 1963 and 1991 censuses shows a preponderance of males over females. For the state, the proportion in 1991 is 945,270 males to 920,334 females. The information is inadequate for determining either the urban/rural male/female ratios or urban in-migrants and rural out-migrants.

ii. There are no specific predominantly migrant areas in the town, but groups of migrants were found to reside in the same household.

iii. Calabar does not have clearly demarcated landuses such as residential, industrial or business, rather a complete mix of various landuses. For instance in some premises, ground floors are used as business areas while the first floor is used for residential purposes. Also in mainly residential areas (eg. Cross River state housing, Federal housing estate, University staff village, etc) business or retail functions could exist within the same building unit or side by side, and in several other mixtures.

iv. A voters electoral register (contains adults of 18 years and above with residential addressses) was not available at the time of the survey. This would have been inadequate as it would

exclude the many street dwellers, and squatters.

v. A telephone directory would also have been inadequate as very few inhabitants can afford the installation and running costs of telephones.

vi. Stratification at the ward level proved inadequate as wards are too large as sub-groups. Because of the shape of Calabar, and the large water bodies component, zonal selection based on grid squares was also considered inadequate.

All these made it impossible to attempt a random or systematic sampling methodology. To overcome this setback but avoid apparent bias, respondents for the sample were selected on alternate basis, based on availability within each sampling zone. Only one respondent was selected within each household.

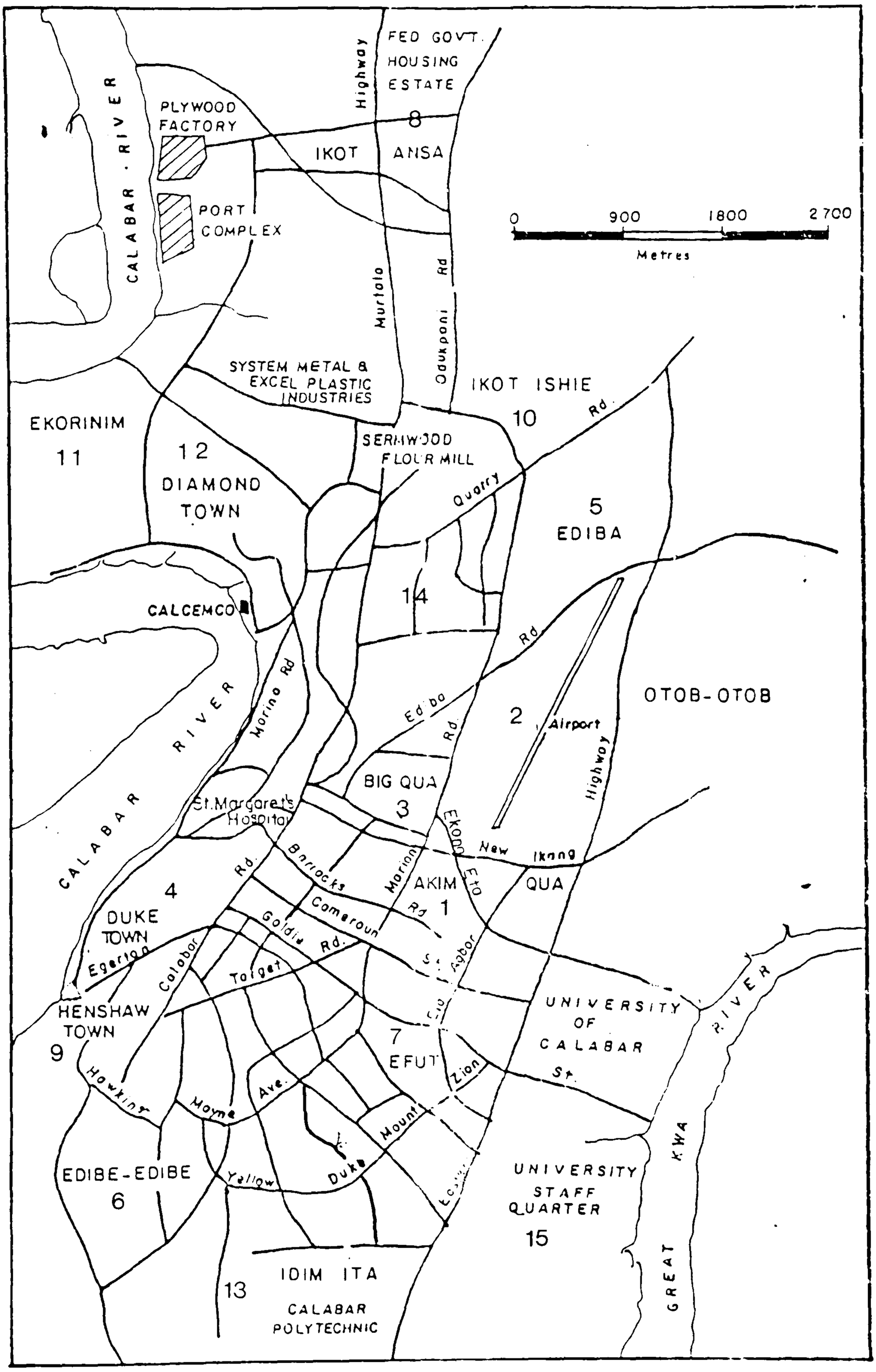
Twenty migrants were interviewed in each of the 15 designated zones to achieve eqiutable spread (figure 5.1 and table 5.1). Due to the unavailability of adequate population data for Calabar, and the time and financial constraints, this method seemed the best to adopt. However, due to the preponderance of migrants in Ikot Ishie and Old town (as was established in the reconnaisance survey), 25 and 23 respondents were interviewed respectively. Only migrants were interviewed. Original indigenes of the town were not interviewed.

Table 5.1 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN CALABAR.

SAMPLING ZONE	RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
1	Akim Qua town	20
2	Airport/Anantigha	20
3	Big Qua town	20
4	Duke town	20
5	Ediba	20
6	Edibe-Edibe	20
7	Efut	20
8	Federal housing estate/Ikot Ansa	20
9	Henshaw town	20
10	Ikot Ishie	25
11	Ekorinim/Ikot Omin	20
12	Diamond town	23
13	Polytechnic quarters/Idim Ita	20
14	State housing estate	20
15	University staff quarters	20
	TOTAL	308

SOURCE: FIELDWORK, urban survey 1990/91.

Figure.5.1 CALABAR: MIGRANT SAMPLING ZONES.



For any migrant family selected, the head of the family (male) was addressed, and in his absence the wife. This may explain the preponderance of male respondents in the sample. However not all respondents were married or had a family. A total of 308 respondents were interviewed. This included 43 indigenes of Obudu as representative of Obudu LGA that was the focus of the rural component of the study.

The questionaire was structured to reveal the various aspects of migration such as direct and indirect or multiple migration; the nature of such multiple moves; migrant socio-economic characteristics; sex and age composition; reasons for migration at source and destination points; place of residence on arrival and with what help if applicable; length of time taken to secure employment; remittances home (frequency and amount). Questions on frequency of visits home are also asked to establish linkage and affinity with home area, while questions were also asked migrants on the possibility of their returning home for instance after their studies.

5.3.b) **URBAN-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS.**

Structured interviews were conducted with officers (President or Chairman, Secretary or Treasurer) of nine such associations of Obudu indigens in Calabar in order to have a clearer understanding of their aims and objectives, what role they play in rural-urban migration and how they aid in the development of their home areas. These were later visited and appraised. The associations include :

i) Obudu Development Association (ODA),

ii) Ubam,

iii) Bendi Development Union (BDU),

iv) Obanlikwu Multi-purpose Cooperative Society ltd,

v) Ohong Development Union (ODU),

vi) Club 50

vii) Ipong Thrift and Loans association,

viii) Akpe and

ix) Ukwel-Obudu Development Association (UDA).

Their meetings were attended where possible to observe the conduct of their deliberations. They were selected for the study because they are the more visible groups in Calabar.

5.3.c. **INTERVIEWS WITH AGENCIES.**

General discussions and open ended interviews were held with heads of :

i) Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI)
ii) Cross River State Agricultural Development Project (CRSADP).
iii) National Directorate of Employment (NDE) (Project manager).
iv) Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLP).
v) Cross River Basin Development Authority (CBDA)(General manager).

These interviews gave an insight into government programmes and policy that impinge on spatial urban and rural development in the state. However verification of their claims was imperative and undertaken where possible.

Rapid appraisal was undertaken in order to achieve a degree of verification the rural villages selected for investigation. Seven villages in Obudu LGA were selected based on spread and proportional representation. Also those that had very visible associations in Calabar made up the sample as this created an avenue to verify claims of development undertaken by the CDAs in rural home areas. These villages are Bendi, Okorshie, Ukpe, Ohong, Bedia, Utugwang and Ipong (Table 5.2 and figure 5.2).

Table 5.2. RURAL CENTRES: POPULATION, RESPONDENTS AND DISTANCE FROM URBAN CENTRE (OBUDU).

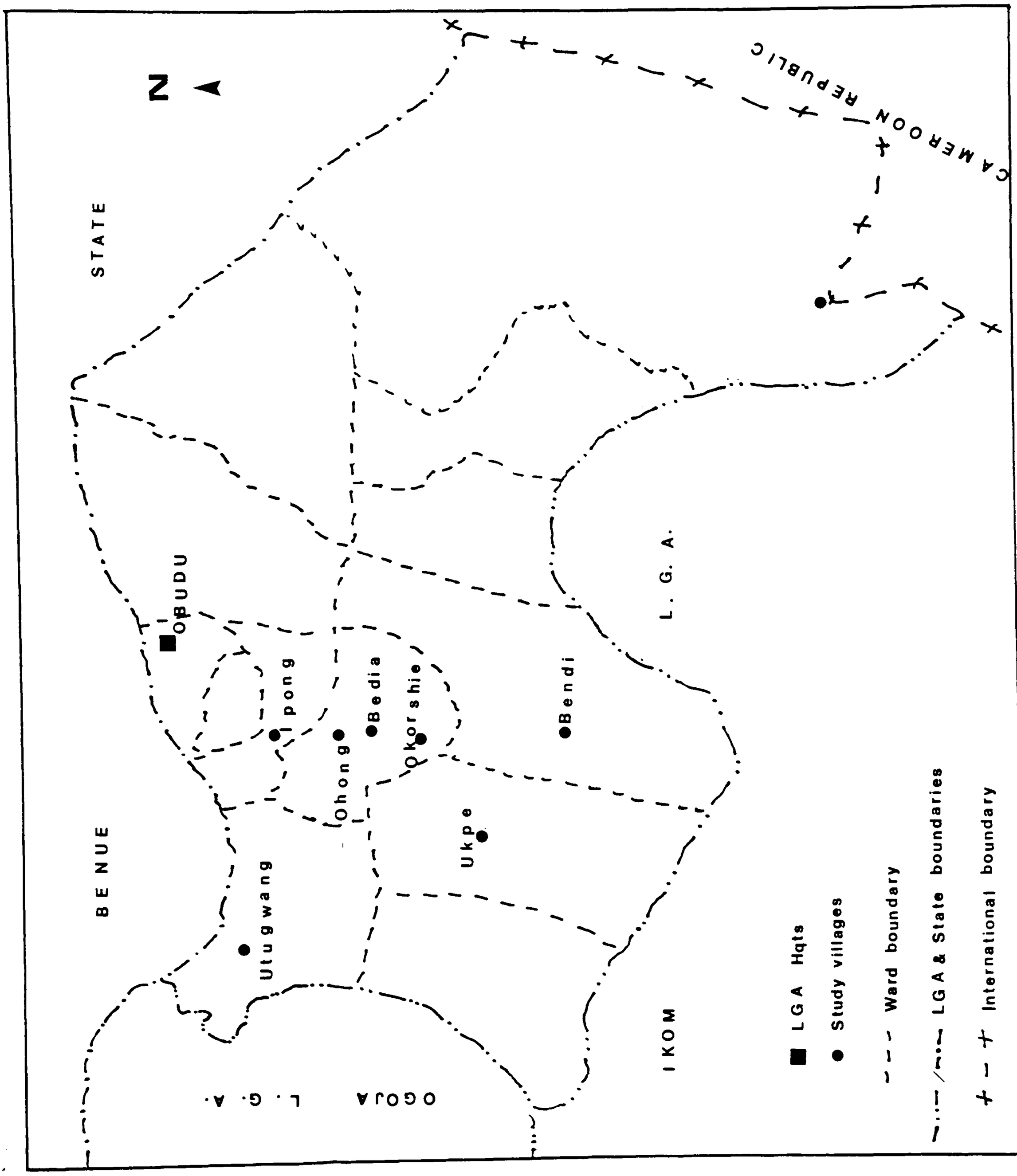
	RURAL CENTRE	NUMBER OF CONSTITUENT COMMUNITIES	POPULATION 1990 (est)	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	DISTANCE FROM OBUDU (Km)
1	BEDIA	2	2,770	26	12.5
2	BENDI	8	6,934	29	18
3	IPONG	4	6,875	30	6
4	OHONG	3	3,642	33	10
5	OKORSHIE	2	1,085	25	16
6	UKPE	8	12,309	30	17.5
7	UTUGWANG	12	21,950	54	28
	TOTAL	39	55,565	227	15.4 (Av)

SOURCE: OBUDU LGA Reports and Fieldwork, 1990/91.

5.3.d) **RURAL HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS: SAMPLING DESIGN.**

A total of 227 rural heads of household were interviewed. They were selected on availability, based on earlier reconnaisance survey with an aim to reflect the main village subgroups. It should be borne in mind that the population of the villages as indicated in table 5.3 are only estimates. But the problem was to obtain a relatively representative sample of households from the number of households with out-migrants. Data is not available on the number of out-migrants per village (the 1963 census is devoid of this information, which would even be outdated if it existed), which would have provided adequate basis for a sampling frame. Utilizing 'judgement sampling' the villages were classified as having either 'high' or 'low' out-migration rates. Thus it was imperative to interview only those heads of households who have children or relatives in urban areas. They were selected on the basis of that trait, with representation from each sub-grouping in the village. The aim was to establish rural impact of rural-urban migration due to the interaction of migrants with home area. The number of respondents therefore reflected the population of the village only to some extent.

Figure 5.2 Villages in rural sample survey of Obudu LGA.



5.3.e.) **PEER/AGE GROUP ASSOCIATIONS.**

Age or peer groups/sets represent the basic traditional unit of interaction and social organization outside the family in the rural areas. They serve as a fora for traditional cooperative solidarity. Age groups/sets are mainly for men. This is because of the exogamy rule which prescribes that women must marry outside the village and wives must come from elsewhere. Women however also belong to women's groups of various types.

Age groups serve mainly three basic cooperative functions:

1. Farm and other work-sharing functions;
2. Savings for taxes, marriage, or building a house. These are of two broad types:
   a. Rotating savings and credit groups and
   b. Savings and lending groups.
3. Social functions. These involve group interaction during ceremonies and festivals such as marriage, New yam, Christmas, Easter, burials etc.

Table 5.3. AGE GROUPS/SETS IN OBUDU LGA.

	NAME	AGE COHORT
1	UWAGA	76 and above
2	UGBAGLE	66-75
3	UBOUCHE	56-65
4	INDELLI	51-55
5	UWIRE	46-50
6	LAWYER	41-45
7	CAGE	36-40
8	UKOBO	31-35
9	NAIRA	21-30

SOURCE: Fieldwork, 1990/91.

An officer of each age group (table 5.3) in the villages was interviewed (Chairman, Secretary or Financial Secretary), and the researcher was initiated into his own age group which enabled me to have a first hand appreciation of their inner workings and organization in rural life and development (see appendix 3b). As the basic unit of organization in the rural areas they constitute the most appropriate forum where rural life and its intricacies can be gleaned. Those interviewed also belonged to the rural heads of households group in nearly all cases.

5.3.f.) APPRAISAL OF PROJECTS OF URBAN-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS.

Where applicable community development projects undertaken by the urban based associations were appraised. The appraisal technique involved visiting the projects and assessing them. In this way, the projects were evaluated to find out their cost, state of completion, the benefiting community or group of people, the viability and usefulness etc.

5.4. SECONDARY SOURCES OF DATA.

Secondary sources of data utilized for this study are various published and unpublished material. Government reports and statistical documents used are:

i. Federal Office of Statistics annual reports and bulletins,

ii. Federal Ministry of Health (Population policy),

iii. Cross River State Ministry of Economic Planning annual reports,

iv. Census data: summary tables,

v. Others.

These reports are both statistical and non statistical and give a historical perspective of the state, or national situation inclusive of recent (1989/90/91) information in some instances.

Unpublished information is a supplement to official information and is a pointer to the reliability of the data.
If any data seemed suspicious it was not utilized, hence the reliability of the data quoted or derived from these sources should not be questionable, although it is difficult to establish bias. The major drawback is that population statistics are an extrapolation of 1963 census figures, as no acceptable census has been held since then (that of 1973 was cancelled). This drawback was partly overcome as the provisional results of the 1991 census were published in 1992.

Any gaps in the data could have occured during the the civil war years of 1966-70, but the census occured earlier in 1963 and thus may not adversely affect its reliability. The paucity of data generally in a developing country like Nigeria must however be borne in mind, and where available may be considered a windfall in certain circumstances.

5.5. **PROBLEMS OF DATA COLLECTION.**

In a developing country like Nigeria, research data collection is a very difficult task indeed. Even government with all its gamut of officers cannot cope. Bureaucracy on the part of government officials, poorly kept and inadequate records (for instance vital statistics and census information), inadequacy of finance, poor transportation and suspicion in some of the communities are some of the problems a researcher faces in the

field. Most of these problems were encountered.

As is the case with most developing countries, there is a dearth and general absence of and inconsistency of records and data. Maps where they exist are often non-informative or outdated. For instance, Jobs Acquisition Skills Programme for Africa (1981:) on the availability of data in Nigeria notes that:

"...almost without exception they are shown to be seriously inadequate. Where they exist, their quality is often dubious (because of the lack of regular collection of primary data)... For many sectors, only a single ad hoc survey is available, so trends cannot be established. Moreover some published statistics are too aggregative to reveal the great degree of diversity in a country as large and heterogeneous as Nigeria."

This difficulty is also observed by Hill (1990:3) as bedevilling the whole of sub-saharan Africa, where:

> "No country possesses a complete and reliable vital registration system or collects complete or reliable migration statistics."

In this situation, any available data fulfils mainly the heuristic function of aiding analysis and facilitating understanding of the patterns and processes of the population.

5.5.a) **URBAN SURVEY.**

Bureaucracy rears its head in government ministries or agencies when the need arises to collect information. Apart from the fact that most ministries are located in the urban areas, most government officers tend to be suspicious towards the motives of researchers. Authorization from the head of the ministry is a prerequisite. Scheduled appointments are most of the time cancelled without prior notification, and reports have to be bought when they are supposed to be free. A personal knowledge of some of the officials and the acknowledgement that one is a university staff was a tremendous asset in resolving these initial obstacles.

The anonymous nature in which the questionaires were administered removed any suspicion with migrants. Those who refused cooperation were few. Some however felt by being open in expressing their true situation and circumstances, was a good opportunity, as the researcher would take their problems and views to higher authority. It seemed also that they had become used to surveys from the university community, and this greatly facilitated the exercise.

Interviews with the officers of urban-based community development associations were facilitated when the researcher promised to present a copy of the thesis to the Obudu Development Association (ODA) on completion. Attendance of their periodic meetings created the feeling of solidarity and enhanced cooperation.

5.5.b) **RURAL SURVEY.**

The major difficulty was the timing of appointments for interviews. Interviews could only be held in the evenings (because mornings are used for farmwork), on market days (rural areas in Cross River State have a five day week), and on Sundays. This meant more time had to be devoted to the rural survey. Most age group meetings are held on Sundays. Participation and patience was essential, but it aided in observing proceedings. The period of survey coincided with the dry season and harvest period, which means the rains were not an obstacle. The mornings were used to assess rural development projects where applicable.

The ineffectiveness of public transport, created some difficulty. The ADP representative (an assistant) offered the researcher transport on his motor bike which facilitated mobility, but when he was away on official business in town other means of transportation had to be utilized. This involed hiring motor bikes at very high cost, to meet interview appointments.

For protocol and ease of operation, the local chief had to be consulted before any research survey could be conducted. The presence of his proxy or a local teacher removed whatever inhibitions the locals may have had about answering prying questions so to say.

5.6. **TECHNIQUES OF DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION.**

The SPSSx - Statistical package for social scientists, was the computer programme used for data analysis. After coding the data, as specified in the questionaires (appendices 1 and 2), running the programme achieved analysis of the responses.

a. **Frequency distributions, averages, percentages.**

Many of questions required definite answers and with frequency distributions a compartmentalization of the responses was achieved. In some cases these are indicated in averages or percentages.

b. **Correlation and tests of significance.**

Correlation and tests of significance, cross tabulation or variation were used to calculate the strength of relationships between factors and/or variables.

c. **Data Presentation.**

The computer editing package was WORD PERFECT version 5.1. This was used to type and edit the text of the thesis.

Maps where available were manually drawn, and where applicable it was necessary for the reduction of large maps to compatible size, and achieve clearer detail of the images to be depicted.

The QUATTRO PRO computer package was used for presenting the charts and tables where WORD PERFECT was deficient.

For clarity and detail, plates and photographs have also been used.

5.7. CONCLUSION.

Although a six month fieldwork research period is appropriate for the study, there is however a need for caution in the interpretation of the collated data. The results from this study are subject to errors of response, processing and sampling variability. It is not claimed that the selected proportion of respondents represents an adequate sample, as a proper random sample would have extended the project beyond the available resources for the research. As regards the sampling variability, the sampling techniques adopted in the urban and rural surveys ensure the minimum possible sampling errors under the resource constraint. Every effort was made to keep the response and processing errors under control at every step of the research. Reviews of the interviews, verification of the manual coding and editing, checking of tabulated figures and other information reduced these errors to an acceptably low level.

However avenues were established to acquire further information as it becomes available. This particularly concerns the census exercise which took place subsequent to the fieldwork.

In the light of the above, caution should be exercised in considering the results because of the following reasons:

i. The outcomes and results of the urban and rural surveys are estimates based on a sample of households. Since such estimates are subject to sampling errors, no one should attribute a 100 per cent material significance to the exact numerical values of any of the estimates. As estimates they should merely be regarded as such.

ii. Comparatively, the results from this research are not necessarily directly comparable with those from any other surveys. This is due to differences in the dates during which the surveys were undertaken, variations in the scope and spatial coverage, and the methods of analysis utilised.

Nevertheless, the survey reflects a representative sample study of the area and a presentation of a wide range of information and evidence possible within the limitations earlier highlighted. Within that perspective, informed, useful and tenable conclusions can be drawn subject to the limitations.

It is hoped that the study will contribute to alleviating the paucity of research in this specific area, as well as create an awareness of the need for further research in urban-rural interaction and urbanization in Cross River state in particular, and Nigeria in general.

CHAPTER SIX

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS IN CALABAR, ORGANIZATIONS AND ASPECTS OF URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.

6.1. INTRODUCTION.

The characteristics of the migrants in our survey in Calabar are discussed in section 6.2. in order to ascertain similarities with observed phenomena in the literature. Source regions of outmigration both within and outside Cross River state as well as the determinants of migration are examined in section 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

The extant strong bonds associated with the extended family system in Africa and particularly Nigeria play a dominant role in urban-rural linkages and interaction through social networks. This, as has been indicated earlier, is to such an extent that migration is considered a family, rather than an individual decision making process (Adepoju, 1988, Gugler and Flanagan 1978; Peil, 1981,1983; Adepoju, 1978). Cross River state is not an exception. Urbanites therefore maintain contact with kith and kin in their rural home communities and villages. This is the subject of section 6.5. These contacts which may occur either through periodic visits per se or visits to attend ceremonies like marriages (traditional or Christian) and burials, chieftaincy enthronements, and also through festivals like the annual new yam festival, and Christian festivals of Easter and Christmas. Annual leave, or vacation periods provide avenues for longer visits by the employed migrants who could use the opportunity to see to their rural home projects and investments such as farms, a housing project etc. and relive ties with rural peers and friends. In the latter regard, the age grade system becomes very significant in rural community organization, as shall be discussed later in chapter 7.

Urban-based community development associations strive to achieve some cohesion and unity among ethnic migrant members, and help both existing members and new arrivals alike in getting used to the experience of urban life. These associations, as another aspect of social networks, are examined in section 6.6.

This chapter examines the migrant in Calabar and his or her interaction with his home area and community, whereas chapter 7 will report on home communities in Obudu LGA and their experience of the interaction with the out migrants in Calabar and other towns.

6.2. **CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEYED MIGRANTS IN CALABAR.**

Some researchers (Peil and Sada, 1984) have established that the characteristics of migrants vary with the purpose of the migration, the size of the place of origin, destination and the distance travelled. However there seems to be considerable interrelationship among these various sets of characteristics. According to our sample survey, migrants in Calabar have the following characteristics:

6.2.a. **SEX DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS IN SAMPLE.**

There is a preponderance of male migrants in our survey sample in Calabar. Of the 308 migrants interviewed, 231 (75%) were male while 77 (25%) were female. The high representation of males in the sample is partly occasioned by the traditional role of males as heads of households in Calabar who had to respond to the questions. But this high proportion of male migrants in the sample is also a reflection of the overall population of the city. According to the 1991 population census, the population of Calabar is made up of 166,203 males and 154,659 females.

Males tend to dominate migration streams due to the superior educational opportunities offered to them in the traditional emphasis and value placed on male children. In most developing societies, parents prefer to educate their male children to maximise their investment, since they are not given away in marriage like their female counterparts. Cultural and religious beliefs deep rooted in such societies also prevents women from moving alone. This coincides with observed research findings by (Adepoju, 1985; Gugler 1991; Peil and Sada 1984; etc) which suggest that male migrants constitute a higher proportion of the rural-urban migration stream, or that migration streams are male dominant.

Women who migrate often do so mainly to join their husbands, but in the traditional African perspective, their marriage potential makes them a more valuable resource at home.

The situation in Calabar also reflects the fact that most urban jobs both in the formal and informal sectors are mainly male suited. Although the town has a high incidence of service establishments that could attract women, the inhibitions mentioned above continue to be a drawback to the urban-ward mobility of women.

The disparity in sex ratios among migrants in urban areas may also reflect an inverse of the situation in rural areas. Were males to remain in their areas of origin they would have played more significant roles in the development of such areas.

6.2.b. **AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS' SAMPLE.**

The age and sex distribution of migrants' sample is indicated in table 6.1. below. 288 (93.5%) of the respondents are between 21 and 45 years old. There is only one respondent in the sample less than 15 years old as well as over 61 years of age, while only four respondents each in the 51-55 and 56-60 age cohorts. Ten (3.2%) of the respondents are aged between 46-50.

Table 6.1. **SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF A SAMPLE OF MIGRANTS IN CALABAR.**

AGE OF MIGRANT	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
Below 15	1	-	1	.3
16-20	25	13	38	12.3
21-25	45	22	67	21.8
26-30	42	18	60	19.5
31-35	52	13	65	21.1
36-40	31	5	36	11.7
41-45	18	4	22	7.1
46-50	9	1	10	3.2
51-55	3	1	4	1.3
56-60	4	-	4	1.3
61 and above	1	-	1	.3
TOTAL	231	77	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990-91.

This situation in Calabar conforms with the notion of migration being a selective process. A possible inference is that people in this age range are better equipped to cope with the physical demands required in labour intensive urban employment.

For purposes of comparison, an earlier study among daily-paid workers in Calabar by Abasiekong (1980), had shown that most migrants (73.6%) were between the ages of 15 and 34; 20.4% belonged to the 35-44 age cohort; and only 6% were aged above 45 years of age. Similar results of sample surveys were obtained by Ekanem and Adepoju (1976), indicating that 90% of migrants were in the 15-50 age range. The same similarity was established by Udo (1978) among rural-rural migrant tenant farmers in Western Nigeria.

6.2.c. **MARITAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN AMONG MIGRANTS' SAMPLE.**

In the Calabar urban survey, of the 308 respondents interviewed 173 (56.2%) were married and 134 (43.5) single. One respondent was undecided. It would seem that the comparatively high incidence of marriage among the migrants indicates more of intent to get married or bethrodal rather than actual established conjugal pair relationships. This explains why only 141 respond to the question to indicate actual number of wives, as polygyny is a common phenomenon. 126 indicate they are married with one wife while 15 have two or more. In African tradition people are generally betrothed at an early age. Moreover the incidence of arranged marriages is high, while marriage within the same ethnic group is encouraged and an obligation for the first sons. However, it was not investigated whether migrants who responded as being married were already married before they migrated, or only got married when they had arrived in Calabar.

Cross tabulation of marriage and level of educational attainment of migrants in Calabar, provides mixed evidence on the short term impact of education on fertility (table 6.3). It seems that higher levels of education for parents are correlated with higher levels of education for children, but does not appear to have a very marked effect on fertility levels. It seems imperative to compare this observed situation in Calabar with what exists in other parts of the country. For instance, earlier studies by Farooq, Ekanem and Ojelade (1987), have shown that among the Yoruba, early age at marriage, universality of marriage and ideals of large family size, all promote high fertility levels, while very few births occur outside some form of marital union. Mean age at marriage was 18.5 years, and between the ages of 25 and 49 marriage was nearly universal, with 95% of the females in current unions. A major influence on Yoruba fertility within marriage appears to be the relatively long duration of breast feeding and the associated long birth intervals (Adeokun, 1983).

Table 6.2. Number of children of respondents in sample of migrants in Calabar.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1-3	93	30.2
3-5	49	15.9
5 and above	29	9.4
None	137	44.4
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

Studies among the Yoruba (Farooq et al, 1987), however, have revealed that the total fertility rate is highest for those with

primary education only, while those with no education somewhat lower, and those with secondary education or higher, showing a more marked decline. The mean average at 45-49 years showed a decline from 6.2 for women with no education, through 5.9 for those with primary education to 5.3 for those with secondary education and above among the Yoruba.

6.2.d. **LITERACY AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF SAMPLED MIGRANTS.**

The literacy level and educational attainment of migrants in our sample survey in Calabar is high. Of the 308 respondents in the survey only 2.9% indicated they lack any formal education and are illiterate. 18.8% have primary education only, while 35.4% had attained secondary education, 11.7% ordinary diploma at the time of survey and 1.3% higher school certificate (H.sc). Cumulatively therefore up to 67.2% of the migrants have middle level education.

Even allowing 5% error attributable to shyness in disclosing true level of literacy 62% would still be literate, although all except those migrants with "no formal education" can be assumed to be at least nominally literate.

Of the highly literate group of migrants sampled, 6.2%, 5.5%, 13.3% and 4.9% had attained NCE (National certificate of education), HND (Higher national diploma), B.sc and M.sc respectively. These findings conform basically with an urban household survey undertaken by the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) in 1979 among persons aged 15 years and above. The survey established that Cross River State had the highest level of literacy of 80.93% (male: 87.50, female: 73.15%) in the whole country. The national average was 65.64% (male) and 38.46% (female). O'Connor (1991) however puts the national adult literacy rate for 1985 at 54% (male) and 31% (female).

Similar results of high migrant literacy were arrived at by Abasiekong (1985) and Ebong (1986). Earlier Karmon (1966) had arrived at the same conclusions with the observation that the spread of education among the rural population and the development of commerce and industry were the two most significant trends that support urbanization impetus in eastern Nigeria. It is however necessary to indicate that since our sample population is mainly composed of heads of households, the remainder of the household might be expected to have lower educational attainments especially as females tend to be less literate in the population as a whole.

Table 6.3. **LITERACY AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF A SAMPLE OF MIGRANTS.**

EDUCATIONAL STATUS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Primary	58	18.8
Secondary	109	35.4
Ordinary diploma	36	11.7
H. Sc.	4	1.3
NCE	19	6.2
Higher diploma	17	5.5
B.Sc	41	13.3
M.Sc and above	15	4.9
No formal education	9	2.9
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork survey, 1990/91.

It must be noted that the involvement of missionaries in education immediately they arrived in Nigeria during the colonial era, especially in Eastern Nigeria created that booster that has not abated since then. Educational facilities in the state are therefore comparatively readily available, and the number of children attending school is high. In 1989 for instance, primary school enrolment was 393,312 (21% of the population), while that in post-primary institutions was 45,289 (2.4%). For a population of 1.8 million (1991 provisional census figures), there exists a Federal University (University of Calabar), a state university campus (this became part of the University of Calabar in 1991 as the 'mainland' part of the state became Akwa Ibom state in 1987), a Polytechnic, a Federal Government Girls College, all located in Calabar. In other parts of the state are a Federal College of Education (at Obudu), a College of Education (at Akamkpa), a college of Agriculture (at Obubra), and a Federal Government College (at Ikom).

Another important factor that supports the high literate situation among the youthful migrants in the state is the free primary education (UPE) scheme which was introduced throughout the country in 1976, and effectively implimented in Calabar.

Education seemingly affects both the decision to migrate (rural parents expect returns on their investment) and the direction of migration. An educated person would virtually be wasting away in any rural area due to the lack of facilities to utilize his education and training. No educated person cherishes subsistence farm labour, unless perhaps the wage earned is more than that which could be earned in an urban area, which is highly unlikely in the face of poor financial support services. Until this situation changes, urban-ward migration for the educated in rural areas is likely to continue.

6.2.e. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS' SAMPLE.

By occupation, civil servants constitute the highest proportion (33.5%) of the migrants in the sample (table 6.4). As reported, junior civil servants make up 15.6% and the senior civil servants, 17.9%. The preponderance of the senior over the junior civil servants, has more to do with respondents than the total population of migrants.

The high incidence of civil servants in the sample conforms with the commonly held notion that Cross River State is a 'civil service state'. This is because the government is the largest employer of labour. The representation of petty traders (7.5%), artisans (10.7%), private sector employees (7.5%) and businessmen (15.3%), may be attributable to the significant contributory role of the informal sector in the economy of Calabar, and Cross River State generally. It could also be an indication of underemployment or disguised unemployment.

It was apparent during our survey, although not recorded, that in order to earn more income and thereby achieve upward mobility, some migrants participate in more than one occupation. The general down turn in the economy, and high inflation has meant a return to the land, and more hard work for many urban residents. It was very common to see most workers in the evenings and at weekends using their cars to ferry passengers to nearby towns like Odukpani, Akamkpa and Uyo in order to earn extra money. Others may be engaged in developing and tending their small farms and gardens located near their homes or in the surrounding villages around Calabar, where it is comparatively easier to acquire land. In the latter group, some even obtain agricultural bank loans to get better yields from their farms. In the undeveloped areas of the University of Calabar campus site for instance, staff were allocated plots of land by the estate department for this purpose.

Among some families also, wives may engage in petty trading especially if they are without formal employment. All these bring in additional income for the upkeep of the family.

Table 6.4. **OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF A SAMPLE OF MIGRANTS IN CALABAR.**

OCCUPATION	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Petty trader	23	7.5
Artisan	33	10.7
Junior civil servant	48	15.6
Senior civil servant	55	17.9
Lecturing	1	.3
Businessman	47	15.3
Private sector worker	23	7.5
Student	38	12.3
Unemployed	3	1.0
Housewife	5	1.6
Teaching	22	7.1
Chief executive	2	.6
Others	8	2.6
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork survey, 1990/91.

Wage employment seems to be the initial goal of most migrants in Calabar according to our survey, although the eventual goal may be self-employment in town or at home. This is because wage employment fosters greater stability of migrants, as voluntary movement is more difficult for employees, although they are occasionally subject to transfer. Those in well paying jobs are unlikely to look to self-employment until they retire. It however seems that those who venture into business and are successful, live more opulent lifestyles, while civil servants could be dubbed corrupt if their lifestyle appears to be above their likely wages.

6.2.f. **LENGTH OF TIME TAKEN TO SECURE URBAN EMPLOYMENT.**

Responses from the employed migrants within our sample survey show generally that a high proportion (59.6%) were able to secure urban jobs within their first year in town (Table 6.5). This is attributable to the new state creation exercise of August 1987, which created vacancies in most government establishments. The state civil service had before the state creation, been hugely populated by indigens of the new Akwa Ibom state.

These vacated positions had to be filled for the continuance and effectiveness of government, and it led to the influx of people into Calabar. This researcher played host to about 5 village friends and relatives during the influx in 1988.

These positions were not filled immediately, as commissions were set up to share assets and rationalize the size of the labour force in government service. The government used this opportunity to trim down its workforce. This may also explain the small element of unemployment in the sample.

Table 6.5. **TIME TAKEN TO SECURE URBAN EMPLOYMENT.**

TIME TAKEN TO GET EMPLOYMENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Under 1 month	54	17.5
2-3 months	54	17.5
4-6 months	42	13.6
7-12 months	34	11.0
Over 1 year	72	23.4
Still unemployed	5	1.6
Not applicable	47	15.3
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

It would seem very likely that the respondents who had spent less than 1 month (17.5%) to get a job are most certainly to have been aptly qualified and immediately needed for the job they got as was the case with civil servants transferred to Calabar, or had the jobs secured on their behalf by their urban contacts.

This seemingly high employment rate as was observed among the migrants during the sample survey, it must be emphasized, occurred only because the state at that time needed manpower to operate the civil service apparatus that was left virtually bare with the movement away of Akwa Ibom state indigens. It therefore had to embark on a massive recruitment drive. This must be borne in mind because Calabar does not have a booming economy by any standards.

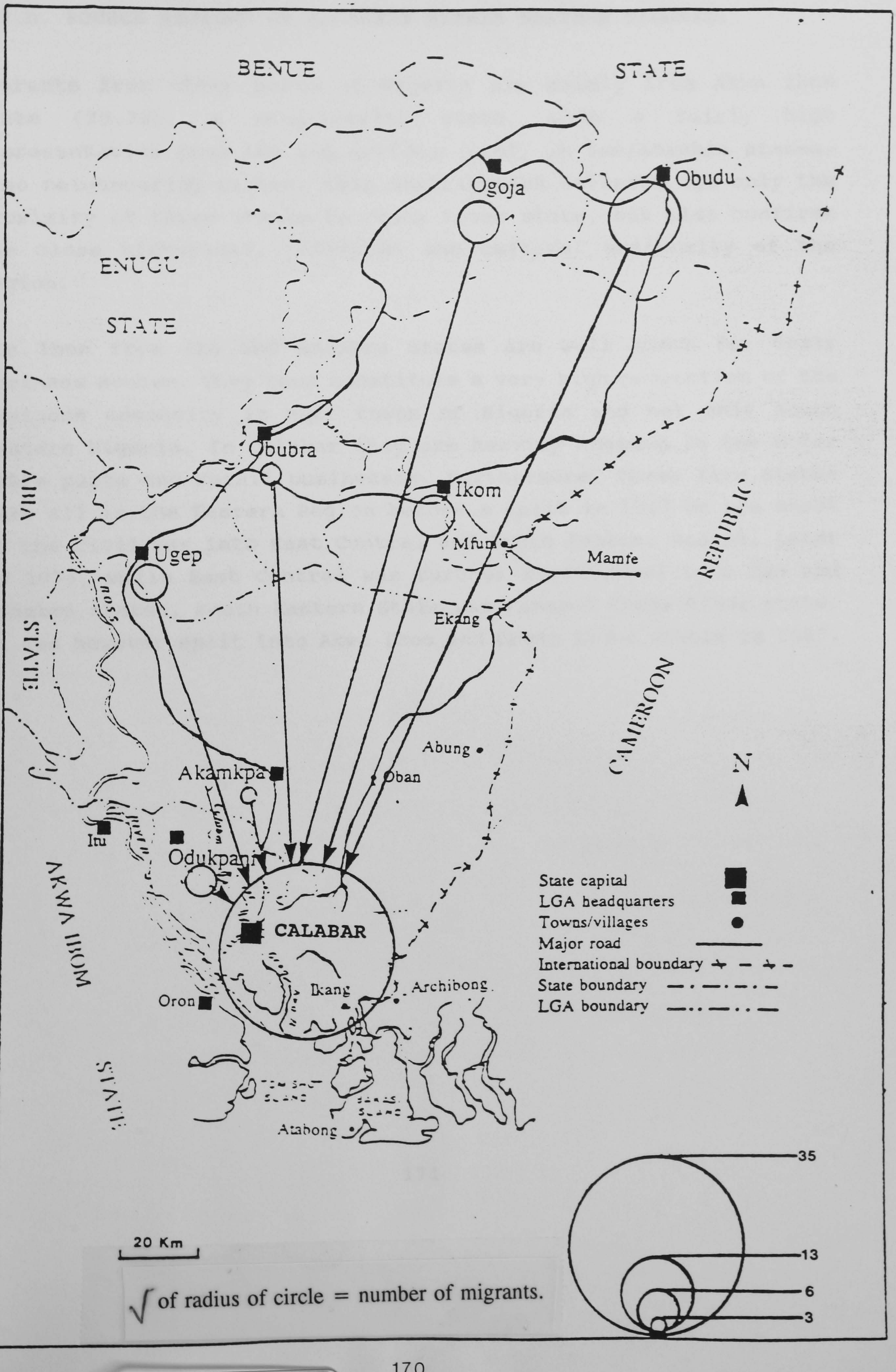
The National Directorate of Employment (NDE), in Calabar had also done a lot to reduce the rate of unemployment through its programmes. These programmes include the National youth employment and vocational skill development programme (VSD), the National open apprentice scheme (NOAS), School on wheels scheme, special public works (SPW) programme, Waste to wealth scheme, Small scale enterprises (SSE) scheme and the agricultural loan scheme under the Agricultural sector employment programme (see also section 7.9.b).

6.3. SOURCE REGIONS OF IN-MIGRATION.

6.3.a. REGIONS WITHIN CROSS RIVER STATE.

Of the 308 migrants interviewed, 101 (32.7%) originate from other parts of Cross River state, with migrants from Obudu LGA constituting 14.0% (figure 6.1). Migrants from Ikom and Ogoja LGAs make up 5.5% and 5.8% respectively. The high proportion of migrants from Obudu in the sample population is merely due to an intentional focus on that ethnic group by the author, and not necessarily that Obudu indigens make up a greater number of migrants into Calabar. Since Calabar is the capital of Cross River state, it represents the greatest attraction or 'pull' for indigens of the state and others alike. It would seem that because the employment policy of the state favours indigens, this becomes a major reason for the favourable attraction and high proportion of indigens. This was seen during recruitment into the civil service during the period immediately after the creation of Akwa Ibom state.

Figure 6.1 Source regions of sample migrants into Calabar within Cross River State.



6.3.b. SOURCE REGIONS OF MIGRANTS WITHIN EASTERN NIGERIA.

Migrants from other parts of Nigeria are mainly from Akwa Ibom state (35.7%), a neighbouring state, with a fairly high representation from Aba and Onitsha (8.8%) in Imo/Anambra states, also neighbouring states. This distribution reflects not only the proximity of these states to Cross River state, but also confirms the close historical, political and cultural uniformity of the region.

The Ibos from Imo and Anambra states are well known for their business acumen. They thus constitute a very high proportion of the business community in most towns of Nigeria and not only south eastern Nigeria. In Calabar they are heavily engaged in the motor spare parts and retail businesses. Furthermore, these five states were all in the Eastern Region before a split in 1967 on the onset of the civil war into East Central and South Eastern States. Later in 1976, while East Central was further partitioned into Imo and Anambra states, South Eastern State was renamed Cross River state. It was however split into Akwa Ibom and Cross River states in 1987.

Table 6.6. **HOME PLACE OF ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS IN SAMPLE.**

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF MIGRANT	FREQUENCY (Q)	%	DISTANCE FROM CALABAR (Km) (d)	e*
Odukpani (CRS)	8	2.6	26	0.64
Akamkpa (CRS)	2	.6	78	0.16
Ugep (CRS)	8	2.6	115	0.44
Obubra (CRS)	5	1.6	150	0.32
Ikom (CRS)	17	5.5	193	0.54
Obudu (CRS)	43	14.0	310	0.66
Ogoja (CRS)	18	5.8	280	0.50
Uyo/Akwa Ibom state	110	35.7	82	1.06
Benin	11	3.6	447	0.40
Aba	19	6.2	153	0.60
Onitsha	8	2.6	201	0.40
Port Harcourt	1	.3	261	0.00
Lagos	1	.3	784	0.00
Others	57	18.5	-	-
TOTAL	308	100.00	-	-

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

* The distance decay function (e) is derived from the equation:

$$Q_{ij} = \frac{1.}{d_{ij}^{e}}$$ Chapman (1979: 179)

Where Q_{ij} represents the number of migrants moving from i to j and d_{ij} represents the distance between place i and place j.

6.3.c. **OTHER SOURCE REGIONS OF MIGRANTS.**

Migrants into Calabar in this survey originate from virtually all other parts of Nigeria as well, although in smaller if not negligible proportions, as indicated in table 6.6. This is attributable to the poor business climate of Calabar, due to the absence of major industrial establishments. Even though the town is served by a port, the port has remained under-utilized compared to Port Harcourt and Lagos.

Other reasons include the absence of a railway link to other towns and cities within the country's railway network that otherwise would have facilitated trade and the movement of bulk goods from the port. The effect of 'distance decay' (e) (table 6.6) is important to an extent, and influenced by the accessility of these centres and the dynamic changes that occur within and in association with them over time.

6.3.d. **MIGRATION DECISIONS.**

Migration decisions made by migrants in Calabar are said by respondents to have been determined to a greater extent personally (48.4%) than by relatives or family (31.2%), as shown in table 6.7. 13.0% were on transfer to Calabar and may not have had a choice in the decision, while 6.5% and 0.3% of the respondents were influenced by friends and co-villagers respectively. This is at variance with the findings of other researchers (Adepoju, 1988 etc) which indicate that in Africa migration is a household rather than an individual decision making process, and that parents view the education and training of their children as an investment. The

reason for this disparity may be due to the lessening of the extended family influence. Decisions seem to be made mainly for first or younger migrants. Those already established may make their own decisions based on the nature of their jobs and circumstance especially as regards multiple moves.

Table 6.7. **MIGRATION DECISIONS OF THE SAMPLE OF MIGRANTS.**

Mode of decision	Frequency	%
Personal	149	48.4
Relative/Family	96	31.2
Friends	20	6.5
Co-villager	2	0.6
Job transfer	40	13.0
Undecided	1	0.3
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

More importantly migration decisions seem to be influenced by knowledge about the urban area which the potential migrant wishes to move out to, and available alternatives. This would involve knowledge about employment opportunities, and possible assurances of assistance in the town from already established kin and relatives or friends. The motivation for a migrant's eventual migration is also influenced by educational opportunities that occur to him, as well as past migration mobility. Distance is usually an inhibiting factor in migration decision making. Rural poverty is also a motivating mobility factor. In the past few years

in Nigeria, the down turn in the economy has meant that potential migrants have had to seriously weigh their chances of success before making any moves.

6.3.e. **PLACE OF RESIDENCE ON INITIAL ARRIVAL IN TOWN.**

Most migrants (50.6%) in our sample survey on initial arrival in Calabar, stayed with their kin (Table 6.8). Although a very wide meaning is usually attached to 'relative' as is the case in extended family, it is an indication of the solidarity which exists among people from common ethnic origins. Those established in town feel an obligation to help as the contrary could be a negative stigma either within the urban community or at home.

Table 6.8. Place of residence of a sample of migrants on initial arrival in Calabar.

ACCOMMODATION ON ARRIVAL	FREQUENCY	%
Relative	156	50.6
Friends	55	17.9
Official accommodation	20	6.5
Boarding house	19	6.2
Employer	6	1.9
Self-rented accommodation	50	16.2
Undecided	2	0.6
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

Only very few migrants (6.5%) who arrived newly can afford hotel or officially rented accommodation. The latter group are mainly senior

civil servants who may be on transfer from another town, or successful businessmen who seek self rented accommodation (16.2%). Others find accommodation in boarding houses (6.2%) often kept by tradesmen (a common feature in the informal sector) or are housed by their employers (1.9%) in the private sector.

6.3.f. **ASSISTANCE FROM URBAN CONTACT AND SOCIAL NETWORKS.**

Through established social networks newly arriving migrants receive assistance from already established migrants in urban areas, individually, or collectively through the voluntary community associations. Even established migrants assist one another especially if they are from the same ethnic group.

According to our sample survey in Calabar, accommodation (54.5%) is the major form of assistance rendered by urban contacts to newly arriving migrants (Table 6.9). This is quite significant assistance as residential accommodation is very difficult to find in Calabar. The rents are quite high compared to the rural areas due to the general shortage of residential housing, and the general tendency of landlords to request a down payment of up to six months or one year in rent.

This is also because the government is the main supplier of housing but cannot adequately meet even the demand from its own personnel, while its rent edicts that are supposed to peg rent increases have failed mainly due to the difficulty of implementation. Building privately is costly, while mortgage institutions and building societies have had very little impact in urban residential housing provision.

Table 6.9. **Form of assistance to migrants from urban contact.**

FORM OF ASSISTANCE	FREQUENCY	%
Accommodation	168	54.5
Food	10	3.2
Money	31	10.1
Job search	39	12.7
Others	57	18.5
Undecided	3	1.0
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

Other forms of assistance to a migrant from his urban contact could be by providing food (3.1%), financial help (10.1%) or in the search for jobs (12.7%). The provision of accommodation as obtains culturally, is accompanied with food, and the new arrival is considered a visitor until he secures his own accommodation, which his host often helps to search for, through his work place and his comparatively more established contacts.

The host would also notify a new migrant if a job opening exists in his own place of employment, other places he may be aware of, or through other established contacts. Such responsibility falls on the host as any migrant who stays too long without any employment becomes a liability. In nearly all cases where a migrant comes and gets employment immediately, such information must have been provided by an urban contact, most certainly a friend or a person from the same place of origin.

The host also introduces the newly arrived migrant to the urban social lifestyle, and arranges meetings with other ethnic community members, to enable him adjust to town life and the attendant new modes of behaviour.

Although the relationship of the host to a migrant was not investigated in this research, it would seem that migrants already established in Calabar would more readily provide assistance like accommodation to a relative, kin, community or village colleagues and friends than anyone else.

Sometimes new arrivals in turn help in running errands, household chores etc. as their own contribution to the mutual relationship until they can find employment.

10.1% of the respondents in the sample had been assisted with money by their urban contact. This to a large extent is a form of loan which the recipient is expected to repay when he subsequently finds employment and begins to earn an income.

However, 19.5% of the respondents reported that they had received no form of assistance since their arrival in Calabar. This group may include those migrants who came into town already employed or were well placed businessmen who made adequate arrangements for their stay while in Calabar.

In order to determine the extent of stepwise or multi-stage migration into Calabar, migrants in our survey sample were asked if they had initially moved to another town before eventually moving into Calabar. 59.4% had not (table 6.10).

Multiple migration often involves a series of transfers connected with employment, although multiple migration is not necessarily step-migration, as movement is not always up the size hierarchy. Migrants seek out opportunities in towns both large and small, and

there is little evidence from our survey of conscious choice to start in a small then followed by a move on to a larger town.

6.3.g. **STEPWISE AND MULTI-STAGE MIGRATION.**

Table 6.10. Towns of initial migration by migrants in sample.

TOWN	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Calabar (CRS)	183	59.4
Odukpani (CRS)	2	.6
Akamkpa (CRS)	4	1.3
Obubra (CRS)	1	.3
Ikom (CRS)	14	4.5
Obudu (CRS)	2	.6
Ogoja (CRS)	4	1.3
Uyo	15	4.9
Benin	1	.3
Aba	9	2.9
Onitsha	5	1.6
Port Harcourt	14	4.5
Lagos	35	11.4
Kaduna	4	1.3
Makurdi	2	.6
Other towns	13	4.2
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

Within the state, the towns that are LGA headquarters such as Ikom (4.5%), Akamkpa (1.3%), Odukpani (0.6%), Obudu (0.6%), Ogoja (1.3%) are the first rung of urban centres to which migrants from the surrounding rural areas were initially attracted, while important towns within the region such as Uyo (4.9%), Aba (2.9%), Onitsha (1.6%), Port Harcourt (4.5%) and Makurdi (.6%) also attracted migrants.

That very few respondents stopped over initially in Akamkpa and Odukpani which are very near to Calabar is an indication that they would rather proceed direct to Calabar where they stand better chances of securing employment. Nationally, Lagos stands out as a major town of initial migration for 11.4% of respondents in our sample survey. Its obvious importance as the then Capital city and hence most important commercial and business centre cannot be over emphasized. Kaduna as the political and administrative nerve centre of northern Nigeria was an initial migration point for 1.3% of our survey sample in Calabar. The creation of new states in 1976, 1987 and 1991 as well as the relocation of the capital from Lagos to Abuja, resulted in the redistribution of population into towns that were hitherto of lesser population size and status, and widened the scope of migration centres. These towns became very attractive centres for potential migrants in view of employment opportunities made possible by their new status.

Due to the tendency of women to join their husbands when the latter settle down, women tended more likely to be direct migrants than men in our sample survey in Calabar.

6.3.h. **RETURN MIGRATION: IF WOULD DO SAME JOB IN HOME AREA.**

Migrants in Calabar in this sample survey were asked whether they would return home after their education, or if they would undertake the same occupation or job back home.

The intention of a migrant if a choice existed to work in home area or not seems a good determinant of the degree of attachment of a migrant to his home area. Of the 308 respondents, 189 (61.4%) agreed that they would do the same job if the job existed in their home area, while 74 (24.0%) would not prefer to work at home. This demonstrates the strength of the economic motive for migration, but at the same time reveals the limited attraction to urban life for migrants in our sample survey. The 'bright lights' theory is not supported here.

6.4. **DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION.**

Various reasons determine and motivate the movement of migrants into an urban centre, both at the source and destination areas. As indicated by Todaro (1976, 1989) and Lee (1970), they are in the main economic. Karmon (1966), considers the spread of education among the rural population and the development of commerce and industry as the two strong trends that support urbanization impetus in Eastern Nigeria. He further maintains that the present stage of agricultural development in the region holds little appeal for school leavers, who instead head for urban areas, where they could utilize their education to attain higher income and standard of life. Moreover, it is only in urban areas that auxiliary services such as water supply, electricity and other support services exist.

Table 6.11. **FACTORS DETERMINING MIGRATION INTO CALABAR.**

REASON	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Job transfer	33	10.7
Job search	151	49.0
Education	38	12.3
Business	36	11.7
Marriage	13	4.2
Others	37	12.0
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

6.4.a. **ECONOMIC MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION.**

Calabar as the capital of Cross River State, is the main administrative and economic nerve centre, and therefore the major pull of most migrants. As indicated in chapter 4 it is the major centre of concentration of business, commerce and industry in the state. Answers from respondents show that 72.2% of them moved into Calabar principally for economic reasons. 49% came for job search, 10.7% as a result of job transfer and 11.7% for business reasons.

6.4.b. **EDUCATION AS A MOTIVE FOR MIGRATION.**

Education not only facilitates migration but is among the main motives of urbanward migration. This is because major urban centres are the centres of concentration of higher education institutions, Universities and Colleges. As indicated earlier in section 6.2.v.

Calabar is a major educational centre, boasting a Federal University, a Polytechnic, many secondary schools, and other institutions of learning. All these are a major attraction for migrants and others alike who may wish to take advantage of the available facilities, as this enhances social mobility and the likelihood of getting a better job. 12.3% of the migrants gave education as a major motive for their movement into Calabar.

6.4.c. **SOCIAL MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION.**

Social motives according to the "bright lights" theory, are significant in a migrant's decision to move to an urban centre. Although this is a motive as well, it is over-shadowed by economic motives. The rudimentary and difficult lifestyle synonymous with rural areas, coupled with unfulfilled aspirations are other aspects that make rural youth desirous to move to urban areas. In the Calabar urban survey, marriage which can be considered a social motive, was recorded as one of the reasons for migration by 4.2% of the migrants. This group was constituted mainly by the female migrants. Cultural restraints within Africa have made it unacceptable for females to move to urban centres unless for marital reasons and quite recently for education. Otherwise the parents always insist on a guardian or relative with whom their female child must stay with in town.

6.4.d. **OTHER MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION.**

Although economic, education and social motives may be considered as the main determinants as we have seen from our survey, it must be borne in mind that other reasons (12%) as well encourage urbanward migration. These may have to do with the situation in the source or receiving areas and intervening circumstances.

Poverty in source areas remains a major 'push' reason for most migrants, but in an African environment like Cross River state in Nigeria, it is not uncommon to find individuals leaving their rural areas because of the fear of witch craft or family strife. In recent years, modernity and the influence of religion may have reduced the incidence of witch craft, but it is still of sporadic occurrence. It is common belief that the further away one is from these people of evil design, then one's safety is better assured.

6.5. **INTERACTION WITH RURAL HOME AREAS.**

The extent to which urban migrants interact with home areas can be measured through the determination of the frequency with which they visit or remit money or do business with such areas.

6.5.a. **HOME VISITS: 'HOME VISITORS' AND 'ABSCONDERS'.**

Of the 308 people interviewed, only 5 (1.6%) insisted they had never visited their home areas of origin since they moved into Calabar. The survey showed that a majority of the respondents visited home once or twice a month (32.8%) or three or four times a year (32.5%). See table 6.12. The frequency of home visits could be a reflection of the length of time a migrant may have resided in town. From our survey, 7.8% of the respondents had spent less than one year in Calabar, 30.8% between 2-5 years and 61.4%, 5 years and above.

Mayer (1962) refers to those migrants who rarely visit home as 'absconders' and those that visit frequently as 'home visitors'. Visits could be for private or business reasons and could occur during annual leave periods, weekends and public holidays. It should be noted however that visits could be reciprocated by the rural kith and kin to any member of the extended family in town and there is no previous notification.

Table 6.12. **FREQUENCY OF HOME VISITS BY A SAMPLE OF MIGRANTS.**

FREQUENCY OF VISITS	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
1/2 a month	101	32.8
3/4 times a year	100	32.5
2 times a year	37	12.0
Once a year	41	13.3
Once in two years	4	1.3
Very rarely	20	6.5
Never	5	1.6
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Field survey, Calabar 1990/91.

6.5.b. CROSS TABULATION OF AGE OF RESPONDENT WITH FREQUENCY OF HOME VISITS.

According to the urban survey of a sample of migrants in Calabar, age seems to play a significant role in the frequency with which migrants visit home. Of the 38 respondents within the 16-20 age cohort for instance, all visited home at several times during the year. Only 5 reported they very rarely visited home. Within the 21-25 age cohort, (25) of the 67 that visited home did so 3 or 4 times a year, 15 visited 1 or 2 times a month, 8, 2 times a year, 11,

once a year 1, once in two years and 3 very rarely. The 3 (1%) who had never visited home at all are in this age cohort. The latter may point to the disillusionment about their rural homes among some

Table 6.13 Cross tabulation of age of respondents with frequency of home visits.

Frequency of home visits / Age	None	1/2 times a month	3/4 times a year	2 times a year	Once a year	Once in two years	Very rarely	Never	%
Below 15	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	.3
16-20	-	11	7	9	4	2	5	-	12.3
21-25	1	15	25	8	11	1	3	3	21.8
26-30	-	21	22	6	8	-	3	-	19.5
31-35	-	28	19	5	10	1	2	-	21.1
36-40	1	11	11	4	5	-	4	-	11.7
41-45	-	10	7	3	2	-	-	-	7.1
46-50	-	2	5	1	-	-	2	-	3.2
51-55	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	1.3
56-60	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1.3
61 +	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	.3
%	.6	32.8	32.5	12.0	13.3	1.3	6.5	1	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

migrants. The situation among other age cohorts is that most people visit home several times during the year. The seemingly frequent visits among the younger age groups may be explained by the fact that since members of these groups are still young adults, they still depend on their parents at home for assistance. Some of them

may also be students and need school fees and pocket money from their parents at home. Home is also where they can spend holidays if they have no alternatives.

The small number of respondents in the sample above 45 years of age is a reflection of the short life span 51,(UNICEF 1991) in the country generally, and a high dependency ratio.

The age distribution in the population of Cross River state (1990 estimates) for instance shows that the adult population aged 45 and above constitutes only 20% of the total population. The length of time spent by a migrant on any particular visit depends on the purpose of the visit, the distance of home away from urban area of residence, and the time it was undertaken. If it is for leave purposes it could take a few weeks, but if it is during the weekend it maybe only for the days of Saturday and Sunday, especially if the migrant has to return to duty on the following Monday.

6.5.c. **CEREMONIES IN URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.**

Although respondents were not specifically asked if they visited home during ceremonies and festivals, activities in Calabar and the presence of many urbanites in Obudu during such occasions is an indication that they are important periods for visits and interaction. The migrants may travel home either by public transport or by personal car, the latter with family or friends. During the 1990 new yam festival for instance, two Obudu community members hired buses from the State transport corporation (Cross Lines) to convey those wishing to visit Obudu. Ceremonies and festivals therefore provide the opportunity during which migrants interact with kith and kin, trade gossips, and display their dress or wealth acquired in their urban areas of domicile.

Common ceremonies include:

i. **MARRIAGE: CHURCH OR TRADITIONAL.**

In Cross River State, marriage can be traditional, Christian/church or a mixture of both. Marriage by probate or court registration is rare. For a Christian it takes place in two phases; traditional followed by the church ceremony, the latter if affordable.

ii. **BURIAL RITES AND CEREMONIES.**

The death of kith or kin is taken seriously in Cross River State. In certain cases lengthy periods of mourning are declared especially if a chief is involved. Children or very close relatives who are bereaved may be required to wear mourning clothes for a prescribed period of time. If a person dies in Calabar, his remains must be taken home for burial, otherwise it will be a shame for both his relatives and the whole Obudu community. If the deceased was a member of the Obudu Development Association (ODA), or any other association, some officers of the associations are also coopted to accompany the corpse home.

iii. **ANNIVERSARIES.**

Anniversaries such as of weddings create opportunities for members of families to assemble. Those members of the family who reside in town may need to travel home to take part.

iv. **NEW YAM HARVEST FESTIVAL.**

This is an annual festival that ushers in the yam harvest season. It is held at the beginning of the dry season (August/September/October), during which the head of a family gives praise to the gods of the land for making it possible for people to enjoy yet another harvest. Because yam is a main crop, the festival

represents, in a way, good or bad harvest for a family in the coming year. Thus with the 'first' harvest it can be determined whether the year would be prosperous, and if otherwise indicated, allows the family to make provision for the shortfall.

v. **EASTER.**

A Christian festival that coincides with the end of the planting season, and the commencement of the rainy season. More importantly, because there is a work free day during the period (Good Friday) a lengthened period is provided and migrants may use the period to visit home.

vi. **CHRISTMAS.**

Since it occurs towards the end of each year it is a good period indeed for migrants to visit home. It is an occasion most Christian families use for family reunion. Because schools are also in recess, children most often are also present. During such visits, there is stock taking of the preceding year and plans made for the year ahead. For example projects undertaken during the year are assessed and those to be undertaken in the new year discussed. The latter may involve discussions as to who would take care of school fees for which child, etc.

As earlier indicated, respondents were not asked specifically to itemise the ceremonies and anniversaries during which they visited home. However because culture plays a very prominent role in the life of an African, these ceremonies and anniversaries are important in that light. Also because we can consider the migrant as living a 'dual' life between the urban and rural areas within which he interacts, it would seem that he has to make the best of

his circumstances. It may be expected that a migrant would visit home to assist with cultivation, sowing or harvesting for instance, but this may depend on his circumstances. This would be very difficult to implement if the migrant is in full-time employment, and his place of origin is far away from Calabar. This may explain why money is sent home for such purposes.

6.5.d. **REMITTANCES IN URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.**

This seems to be the main determinant of the extent of urban-rural interaction. 73.1% of the respondents remit money to their home areas and 26.9% do not. The flow of money from a migrant to his family back home indicates his commitment to family - the higher the amount sent, the frequency of such remittances are all shades of his commitment and usefulness to family emancipation.

The age group 16-20 exhibits greater reluctance (22 out of 38 do not remit) to remit money home, while a larger proportion of men (176 out of 231) than women (47 out of 77) remit.

Gifts and therefore remittances are reciprocal not in a strong sense, but perhaps as appreciation especially from the ruralites. It is a misconception that migrants are always better off financially than either their rural peers or their parents, certainly not if the migrant is a student, and opportunities abound for the ruralites to farm extensively.
Respondents in the rural survey were not asked if they send money to their kin in urban areas, but ruralites make payments to urban areas to support students and their school children.

Table 6.14. REMITTANCE BY AGE AND SEX OF MIGRANTS.

AGE	MALE	FEMALE	YES	NO
Below 15	1	-	1	-
16-20	25	13	16	22
21-25	45	22	39	28
26-30	42	18	44	16
31-35	52	13	58	7
36-40	31	5	30	6
41-45	18	4	21	1
46-50	9	1	9	1
51-55	3	1	4	-
56-60	4	-	2	2
61 +	1	-	1	-
TOTAL	231	77	225	83
	75	25	73.1	26.9

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Urban survey 1990/91.

6.5.d.i. **AMOUNT OF MONEY REMITTED.**

The amount of money remitted home by migrants varies considerably, as a large proportion of the migrants who remit money send different amounts occasionally, but the major determinant is whether a migrant is employed or not. To some extent also it may depend on the responsibility of the migrant in the urban area, such as marital status, number of children, type of occupation and other commitments. His degree of attachment to his home area, and the possibility of having a project at home also determine the amount of money remitted.

6.5.d.i.1. CROSS TABULATION OF AMOUNT OF MONEY REMITTED WITH NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF MIGRANT.

The general tendency among the sample of migrants (table 6.15) indicates that both those with children and those without prefer to remit different amounts of money home on each occasion (43.8%), decreasing with the number of children. 22 of the respondents in the sample are without children, 21 with 1-3 children, 15 with 3-5 children, and 13 with 5 or more children. Thus amount of remittance depends therefore on nuclear family responsibility. Of the 84

Table 6.15 NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND AMOUNT OF MONEY (N) REMITTED.

Number of children	No remittance	< 10	10-50	50-100	100-200	200-500	> 500	Different amounts each time	%
None	59		15	16	15	7	1	22	43.8
1-3	12	1	13	22	18	2	3	21	29.9
4-5	9								15.9
6 and above	4								9.4
Not applicable								1	0.9
Number	84	1	37	53	39	16	6	72	308
%	27.3	.3	12	17.2	12.7	5.2	1.9	23.4	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

(27.3%) in the sample who do not remit money at all, 59 have no children, 12 have less than 3 children, 9 between 3-5 children, and 4, 5 children and above. Among the group with less than 3 children, 12 do not remit money home, 13 (N10-50), 22 (N50-100), 18 (100-200), 2 (200-500) and 3 (above N500).

6.5.d.i.2. CROSS TABULATION OF OCCUPATION OF MIGRANT WITH AMOUNT OF MONEY REMITTED.

The occupation of a migrant has a strong effect and determines the amount of money remitted home (table 6.16). Nearly all students (33 out of 38) do not remit money home. In the whole sample the respondent who remits less than N10 is a student. This is obvious as they are required to depend on their parents, guardians or sponsors for their support while at school. It can be taken for granted that those who remit at all may be mature students who maybe on in-service training, married or have dependants at home.

Those not employed and housewives also scarcely remit money home, although they make up an insignificant proportion of the sample. Among the civil servants, 8 out of 48 junior workers and 3 out of 55 senior workers do not remit. More respondents (23.4%) remit different amounts each time than specific amounts. Next are those who remit between N50-100 (17.2%). 12% remit between N10-50 and 12.7% between N100-200.

Wage levels at the time of survey may give a further insight into the amount of money remitted home, as urban incomes are decidedly higher than rural incomes. In the civil/public service in 1990, the minimum wage was N265 per month or about N3500 per annum, (Grade level 1) inclusive of allowances. The highest grade level is 17 which attracts a salary of about N36,000 p.a. There is a slight variation in the salary of university workers. Under the unified salary structure (USS), a person on the lowest level earns N4,800, while someone on the highest level earns N56,000 per annum.

In the private sector, incomes vary a great deal although they are considered higher than those of the public sector. The significance of the informal sector as a large component of the urban economy in most developing countries like Nigeria further creates variations in incomes. Moreover, there is a multiplicity of sources of income.

Table 6.16. **Cross tabulation of occupation and amount of money remitted home.**

Occupation	Amount of money remitted home (N)								Row total
	None	<10	10-50	50-100	100-200	200-500	Above 500	Diff. amounts	
P. trader	9	-	5	4	1	2	-	2	23
Artisan	10	-	8	7	4	-	-	4	33
Civil servant (J)	8	-	8	12	8	2	-	10	48
Civil servant (S)	3	-	5	9	12	4	3	19	55
Teaching	4	-	7	9	4	4	3	13	47
Business	7	-	3	4	4	1	-	6	23
P.S. worker	5	-	-	3	1	-		-	38
Student	33	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Unemployed	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	5
Housewife	2	-	-	4	4	2	-	9	23
Chief executive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	5	8
Total	84 (27.3%)	1 (.3%)	37 (12.0%)	53 (17.2%)	39 (12.7%)	16 (5.2%)	6(1.9%)	72 (23.4%)	308

SOURCE: Fieldwork, urban survey 1990/91.

With this gamut of income levels, it may rightly be construed that although the level of income may influence the amount of money a migrant remits home, other factors are important as well. These may include family and other personal commitments, for instance the number of children the migrant has, as discussed earlier above. For although a migrant may be obliged to assist rural kith and kin, his immediate responsibility lies with his nuclear family.

6.5.d.ii. **MODES OF REMITTANCE.**

They are various modes through which migrants remit money to their relatives in home areas. Money could be remitted personally during visits, through friends and relatives or through the banks or post office (See table 6.17). Most migrants in the sample prefer personal remittance (32.8%) or the use of friends or relatives (32.5%). The use of banks (1.3%) in remittance is negligible as most banks do not operate in rural areas.

The incidence of thefts through the post office, and the delay involved in cashing postal orders, makes this mode of remittance unattractive. Only 1.9% of respondents used the post office for remittance. The use of car or bus drivers for remittance is also minimal. Drivers interviewed explained that it was difficult after a hard days job, to also deliver errands. To avoid strain in relationships, they preferred not to take errands generally.

Table 6.17. **MODES OF HOME REMITTANCE.**

METHOD OF REMITTANCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Personally	101	32.8
Post Office	6	1.9
Bank (Cheque/Draft)	4	1.3
Relatives/Friends	100	32.5
Bus/Car drivers	1	.3
Most/Some of the above	12	3.9
Not applicable	84	27.3
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Urban survey 1990/91.

6.5.d.iii. **FREQUENCY OF REMITTANCE.**

The frequency with which migrants remit money home varies from very frequently (monthly 22.7%;, 4 to 10 times a year 5.5%) to infrequently (1 to 3 times a year 19.8%). A few respondents in the sample (5.5%) said they remitted money when it was available, and 19.2% paid when it was needed at home (table 6.18).

It would seem that the frequency of home remittance is influenced primarily by the occupation of the migrant, and the amount of

money involved. A civil servant will tend to remit money home on a monthly basis because that is when his wages are paid, but this may differ with another in private business, whose income is not temporally defined. The various commitments a migrant might have in his place of origin, such as family (this may involve members of his own nuclear family like a wife or parents), an on-going project or other obligations such as payment of school fees, may also influence the frequency of remittance.

Table 6.18. **FREQUENCY OF HOME REMITTANCE BY MIGRANTS' SAMPLE.**

FREQUENCY OF REMITTANCE	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Monthly	70	22.7
2 or 3 times a year	52	16.9
4 to 10 times a year	17	5.5
Once a year	9	2.9
When needed	59	19.2
When money was available	17	5.5
Not applicable	84	27.3
TOTAL	308	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, Urban survey 1990/91.

6.5.e. **BUSINESS LINKS AS AN ASPECT OF URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.**

Only 12% of respondents undertake any business with their home areas of origin. The form of business mainly undertaken by the respondents in the group is petty trading in yams, vegetables, and fruits. This illustrates the appallingly low volume of commercial activity in the state generally, and may be a pointer to the expenditure and saving patterns of migrants, or the low level of wage earnings which makes it very difficult to undertake business or commercial ventures. The risks involved are also a deterrent to potential business minded individuals. Other difficulties as explained by the respondents were in trying to obtain bank loans for such undertakings. Collateral security is a major requirement by the banks before loans can be granted. Thus it is mostly only well placed individuals who benefit from loan services of the banks.

6.6. **SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INTERACTION AMONG MIGRANTS IN CALABAR.**

It is imperative at this stage to further assess the importance of interaction within towns for further illustration. The urban villager maintains spatially extended social networks. These are either within neighbourhoods, across the town with rural kith and kin, or with friends, co-workers and relatives. The relationships with kin or home people is a close-knit network, so are those among like-minded associates who enforce conformity with the prescribed rules of behaviour of the group. Among individuals who may not even know each other, a wide range of meaningful relationships also exist. In this case the network is loose-knit and members tend to have a more open outlook.

These networks are facilitated as fast forms of transport become more easily and cheaply available, and other means of communication are improved. The neighbourhood, though important is only a part of

the urbanite's social network and is not a constraint as has been illustrated by Gans (1962b), Wirth (1938) and Gugler (1984).

Interesting reports have been produced on social networks research (Mitchell 1969; Parkin 1969; Stren 1972; Jacobson 1973; Ross 1975; Weinrich 1976) but the results have been with little quantitative data. Peil (1981), asserts that social networks are most homogeneous in provincial towns, moderate in the suburbs due to their small size and most heterogeneous in central cities where potential is greatest for multiform contacts.

An important distinction between urban and rural residents lies in the relative freedom of the former to behave in ways that deviate from societal norms, and what makes cities a focus of social change is the unconventional behaviour of members of subcultures (Fischer, 1975). He defines a subculture as 'a set of modal beliefs, values, norms, and customs associated with a relatively distinct social subsystem (a set of inter-personal networks and institutions) existing within a large social system and culture' (Fischer, 1975:1323). Larger towns therefore should contain a 'critical mass' of intellectuals, 'swingers', political dissidents, and other groups whose unconventional views are diffused gradually into the wider society.

On the other hand, in smaller towns they might be isolated to the point of being ignored or made to conform to common norms. Fischer's choice/constraint hypothesis, proposes that, apart from personality, certain people will be more sociable than others because their positions in society allows them greater resources and opportunities with which to expand their networks.

Age, sex, migration experience, occupation, income and the maintenance of contacts through the balance in perceived rewards and costs, are the determinants of opportunities. There seems to be less choice of contact and more pressure for friendly interaction

in a small town or neighbourhood with a strong sense of community than in a large town with a transient and unattached population. Fischer, however, argues that a lengthy period of residence may enhance a knowledge of neighbours but not necessarily frequent or intimate interaction with them.

6.6.a. URBAN-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS IN URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.

As we had earlier highlighted in chapter two, urban-based associations studied elsewhere are voluntary, cultural or ethnically affinal with communal, thrift or cooperative preferences and objectives. They play a mainly facilitatory role as they are a reminder to a migrant that home still exists. In this role they strengthen urban-rural linkages. Ties to common home area tend to be mutually reinforcing as this enhances communication and social control. But some seem also to be ephemeral, with short life spans. The larger associations seem more bureaucratized, while the smaller ones seem to provide better social support on the particularistic basis their members expect although they have less available resources. Multiple membership is common. The major characteristics of the associations are:

1. A hierarchical leadership structure (see fig.6.2);

2. Specified goals;

3. Formal or informal norms as to members behaviour, and

4. A distinct identity, symbolized by a name.

The relationships within the associations tend to be curvilinear rather than linear, as the moderately successful migrants participate more in associational activities than the poorest residents who tend mainly to be illiterate and unskilled, and lack the resources to participate in an association (or in more than one), while the most advantaged urban residents would rather prefer to spend their free periods with family or in informal socializing with friends. Well educated migrants tend to look down on membership, while those in manual and commercial occupations are more likely to be members than professionals.

The associations elicit intensive participation from members, and serve a wide range of explicit and implicit purposes, although within some of them, membership is fairly selective, varying with individual background, personality and status; the local customs of affiliation; and with urban social structure. Other determinants may be residential distribution, and traditional hierarchical structure, the socio-economic standing, attitude towards urban life and distance from home of the potential member.

Nine (out of an estimated 20) such associations among the Obudu indigens were studied, during the urban survey in Calabar. The associations are not religious, recreational, or occupation based, but are home town oriented, although their relatively smaller sizes extricates them from being dubbed ethnic. With participant observation, it was possible to glimpse the finer workings of the groups. However it would seem that even though their roles facilitate links, the strength of the extended family seems superior.

From findings in our survey in Calabar, the associations can be grouped into the following classes:

6.6.a.i. **ELITE ASSOCIATIONS.**

1. **AKPE.**

Only one association AKPE, was identified to belong to this class. Founded in 1975, it is constituted of the elite among the migrants. Included in this category are top civil servants and government functionaries, successful businessmen and senior cadre private sector executives. In 1991, only 15 Obudu indigens belonged to the group. Membership was initially restricted to 10 but had to be increased to 15 due to the state creation exercise of 1987 that brought in more well placed Obudu indigens into Calabar.
Members meet on a rotating basis, monthly, and contribute N500 on each meeting. The total sum collected is given to the host who provides food and drinks. Thus although elite in composition, it is also principally a savings association. The host is the recipient of the contributions. A few of the members of Akpe spoken with used their contribution for personal projects such as a house (either in Calabar or at home), school fees for their children in school and car repairs.

During meetings (some of which I attended), very important welfare, economic, social and political issues that have any implications for Obudu are discussed and deliberated upon. For instance cognisance of the position of Obudu vis-a-vis other LGAs in senior civil service and other appointments to state government boards and parastatals, such as directors general, directors, managing directors, general managers, etc is always reviewed to make sure that Obudu is well represented. Any member who wishes to run for any of such positions seeks the support of Akpe.

Politically, sometimes, candidates vying for positions seek the endorsement of Akpe. The council chairman for Obudu during the 1991 LGA elections had to solicit the support of Akpe.

6.6.a.ii. **NON-ELITE ASSOCIATIONS.**

The urban-based associations in this category include:

1. **Obudu Development Association (ODA);**

This is the nationally recognized parent development association of all Obudu indigens. With the headquarters based in Obudu, it has major branches in all the state capitals and major towns of the country. Established in 1970 in Calabar by a Chief social welfare officer, Mr. J. A. Ugbe (its first chairman for over five years), it has about 175 registered members. New arrivals in town are required to pay a registration fee of N10 (after they have secured employment) and subsequently monthly dues of N5. Monthly meetings are held at the chairman's residence. The occasions are an avenue for interaction and discussions pertaining to the welfare of Obudu indigens which is its major objective. News of whatever nature is exchanged and passed on. Problems encountered by any member are resolved, and older better established members often help when they can with advice about jobs etc. The chairman may request members to pay condolence visits to bereaved colleagues, and if unfortunately a member dies in town, it is the responsibility of the association to return his corpse home for burial.

Members are levied for specific development projects at home. At the time of this research, the project being considered for execution was a Civic centre in Calabar that would serve multi-purposes like a shopping centre, a venue for meetings, etc.

The main reason for the siting of the project at Calabar was to remove the inconveniences chairmen undergo in hosting meetings of ODA.

2. **Ohong Development Union (ODU);**

The ODU is made up of Obudu indigens from Ohong. This researcher is a member of this union, and was a participant in most meetings. Started effectively only in 1987, the enthusiasm of the fairly young members has kept the Union alive. Officers of the union in 1991 were:

Patrons: Messrs C. I. Ukah and E. A. Utande.
Chairman: Celestine Udie.
Vice-chairman: Modestus Ikam.
Secretary: Martyns Apebende.

Great attempts were on to increase membership (only about 50 at time of investigation), and projects to be undertaken at home had already been earmarked. These were rural electrification, laying of pipes for reticulated water supply, feeder roads and an increase in the stall capacity of the Ohong market. A levy of N50 each was being collected from members towards the planned launching of a development fund. Such numerous planned projects were given a booster as an indigen of the village was occupying the position of State Commissioner for Works and Transport.

3. **Bendi Development Association (BDA).**

Indigens of Bendi (within Obudu LGA) make up the BDA. With a membership of over 50, the BDA is under the considerable influence of a wealthy businessman, who has been the patron and chairman of the association since it was founded in 1975. As the General Manager of a limestone processing company, he also has a chain of other businesses (bakeries, shipping, pharmacy, etc) with offices both in Calabar and at home. He is reputed to have single handedly influenced the location of the technical college at Bendi in 1982. Most members point out that his influence has been a great rallying

force for Bendi indigens in Calabar. With the popular name of 'Mr fix it' he is also reputed to have found employment and job placements for many of his kith and kin, as well as sponsoring over 15 boys and girls in Colleges, Polytechnics and Universities. Much of this was confirmed to be true. All meetings are held in his house.

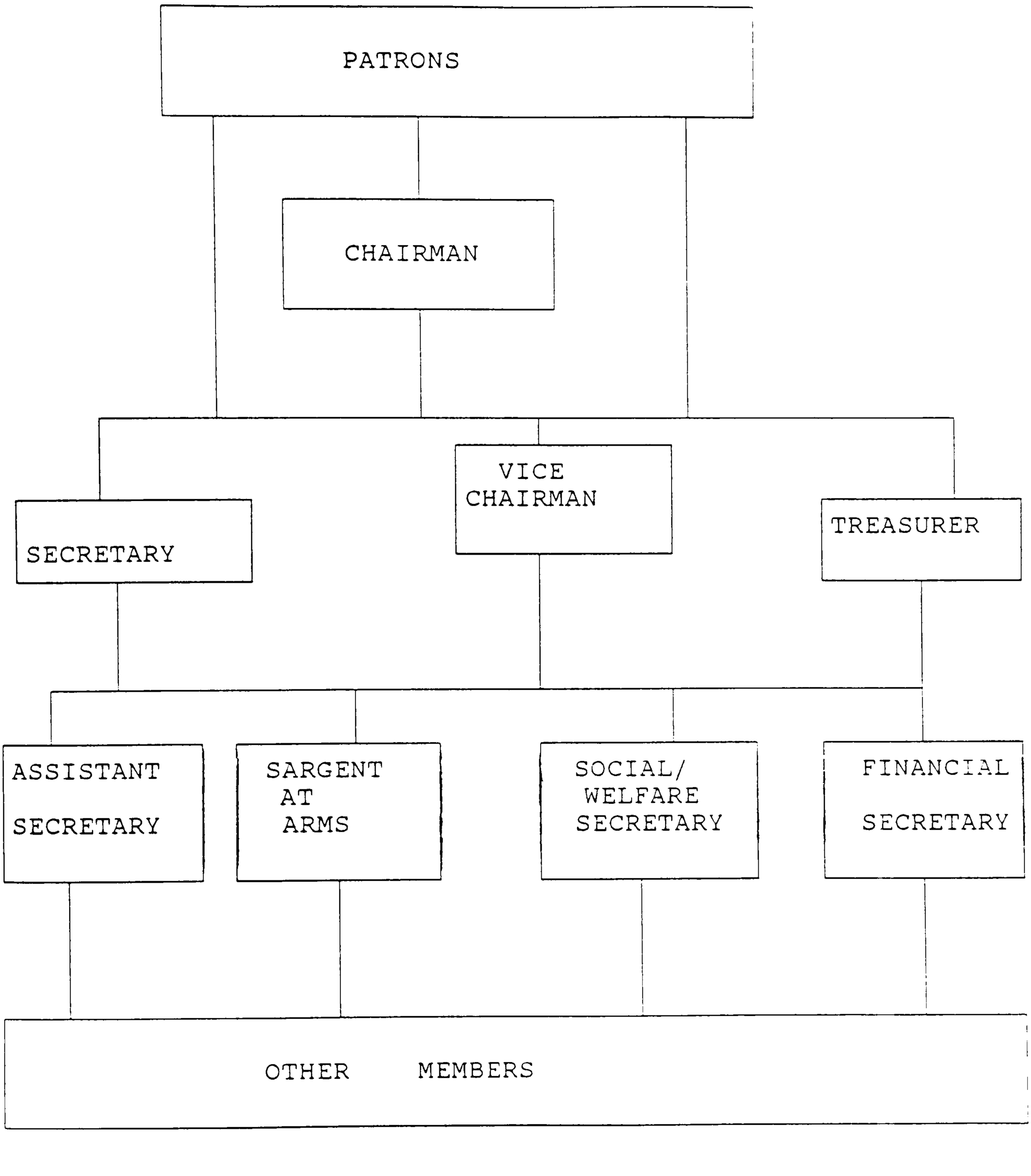
4. Ukwel-Obudu Development Association (UDA).

This was started in 1987, by a group of friends (Simon Ugbe, Peter Utam, Emma Agiang and Thomas Ugbe) who felt that although Ukwel-Obudu was proximate to the Obudu LGA headquarters, it still lagged behind in the provision of basic amenities. As they had been successful themselves in their various careers (accountant, university teachers, and magistrate respectively) they felt they owed their rural community some contribution.

The main project undertaken by the association at home is a town hall. Members also liaised with teacher colleagues at home to set up evening classes for secondary school students (in English, Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics), to enhance their performance in WASC or SSS (senior secondary school) and JAMB examinations. Initially, English and Science subject teachers at the local Community Secondary School were approached with the idea that there was a need to encourage Ukwel-Obudu youths to improve their examination performances, as only a few of the youths were gaining places into higher institutions of learning.

Most of the teachers in the Community school are indigens, and they felt it was their own way of contributing to the wellbeing of the community. UDA promised to provide teaching aids for the lessons, and if need be some financial allowance for the participants.

FIGURE 6.2 . ORGANOGRAM OF URBAN-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS.



Saturday was chosen as the day for the additional lessons. With time, other days in the week were added. After the next examinations in 1990, it was seen that the school had achieved about 60% improvement in results over the previous year. By this achievement it was decided by UDA that the programme should be enlarged with additional subjects and financially supported.

6.6.a.iii. **THRIFT OR SAVINGS AND LOANS ASSOCIATIONS.**

These take the form of rotating credit societies (RCS), known generally in Nigeria as *esusu*, in the north as *adashi*, and northern Cross River State and parts of Benue State as *ubam*. In this manner members contribute a fixed amount and take allocated turns drawing out the total sum collected. In another form, the contributions are saved and only shared at the end of an agreed period usually at the end of the year, before Christmas. Within the intervening period loans are provided to needy members. Loan recipients are charged a minimal interest, which is utilized for welfare purposes for the common good. Loans must be guaranteed by usually two other members of the group. Here mutual trust is essential and members would have known each other for a long period of time. The general goal of these groups is to provide members with capital for major investments such as trading, starting a business, enrolment in artisan apprenticeship training, a farming or building project at home, etc.

The appeal lies in the little sums that are contributed, and members who are well to do, can contribute on behalf of and inclusive of their partners and children. The occurrence of interest yielding savings accounts in banks does not seem a threat to these groups, for the simple reason that the amounts involved may be too small to be meaningful in the banking environment. These thrift or savings and loans associations include:

1. **UBAM;**

This is the thrift and savings arm of the ODA, which began operation in 1978. It consists of about one hundred members, who meet bi-weekly and contribute N2 each at each meeting. This goes towards savings and contribution towards the New yam festival that comes up on the first Saturday of September annually.

2. **Ipong Thrift and Loans Association:**

This is constituted by members of Ipong community in Obudu. As its name implies, its main purpose is for thrift savings and loans. Members meet on a biweekly basis, and save N1 on each occasion. Savings are on affordable basis. Loans can be granted on request, with the provision of two acceptable guarantors. Interest is charged on the loans, but this goes into the common purse for savings towards the provision of enough meat (beef) for members families during the New yam festival in September of each year. Levies are charged for community self-help projects to be undertaken at home. These can be paid over a period of one year. During the period of investigation a levy of N20 was charged each member for the completion of a community polyclinic that had been built by a philanthropist residing at Ogoja. The eventual sum was to be utilized for furnishing and provision of dressings and medicaments for the clinic. The government was to provide the nurses and auxiliary staff. The association also launched a fund raising appeal which yielded over N40,000. from well wishers inclusive of levies on members (This project is further discussed in chapter seven). New arrivals in town are helped by members to locate jobs, or information about job openings.

3. **Obanlikwu Multi-purpose Cooperative Society ltd;**

This is the only association fashioned along the lines of a multi-purpose cooperative society, with clear cut financial designs. It is a limited liability company. Membership is open to all capable individuals from Obanlikwu and Obudu generally. The 34 registered members meet on a monthly basis, and pay N2 at each sitting. Each member is required to have paid a fixed amount of N200 at the end of the year, representative of their shares in the company. The society operates rice and cassava farms at home where land and labour are cheap and readily available. Also planned for establishment at home are citrus, yam and banana farms, as well as poultry and piggery farms. It aims to also acquire office premises in Calabar, to trade in consumer goods. Where need be it shall borrow from external sources within its capabilities to finance its projects.

The Chairman of the society, Mr. Sylvester Ajen believes that since setting up the organization in March, 1987, members have shown more devotion to the society, mainly because they own a stake in the enterprise through joint ownership. Through mutual interaction in viable economic ventures he maintains, members are better able to face urban life and are better placed to aid colleagues, kin, as well as new arrivals.

4. **CLUB 50.**

This is a group of 12 close associates, who are a bit well to do. Their number 12 coincides with the twelve months of the year, which makes it easier for each member to collect the contribution when it is due. The month during which a member receives his due is arrived at by ballot or consensus. This can be renegotiated among any number of members if any member requires a rescheduling as a result

of unforseen circumstances. The meetings are held in the home of the recipient member, who entertains all with food and drinks.

They meet on the first Sunday of each month, when salaries must have been paid, and contribute two hundred and twenty naira each. The twenty naira is additional, and used for entertainment, in order to avoid too much financial pressure being imposed on the host.

The N200 contribution is savings by members and most of them earmark such savings for personal projects. For instance Mr. Ugbe planned to utilize his savings for buying a new engine for his VW (Beetle) car that required refurbishing. He had asked for the month of November to be allocated to him to collect his own contribution. This he maintained would enable him to complete the repairs of his car in time and travel home with his family for the Christmas festivities in December.

In a similar manner Mr. Ugal was embarking on constructing additional rooms in his house project in his home village. His contribution would go to making blocks, buying corrugated roofing sheets in order to complete the project.

The association is non-formal. Although there is a chairman, he is merely a titulary head and other officers like secretary, treasurer etc do not exist. No minutes are recorded.

Members were requested to explain why, in spite of the interest they could gain if they saved such amounts in banks, they preferred such an informal association. The consensus was that the association provided a forum of comradeship and interaction among their families. They believed that it was only through such interaction that they could build mutual trust, and in the same manner help each other.

6.6.a.iv. **PROBLEMS OF THE ASSOCIATIONS.**

The urban-based associations are not without their operational difficulties. It would seem that a major weakness is in their diversity. This shows that ethnic feelings are very strong and extensive, as they are prevalent even in urban areas, away from home. One strong union would perhaps encourage greater solidarity. There was no identified opposition between them but as social groupings in urban areas, cleavages were evident. This might suggest that characteristics of the village are encouraged among the groups to discourage integration with the urban community thereby widenning the degree of discontinuity between the rural and urban communities.

Confrontations resulting from 'nativism' as a form of opposition between 'sons of the soil' and 'outsiders' were not manifest in our survey as the people of Calabar are very friendly. Although in Nigeria, state and local government boundaries have tended to provide a ready framework for assertions of sub-national rights, but the 'federal character' policy seems to have taken care of such problems and reflects unity in cultural diversity. After the creation of Akwa Ibom state, Cross River state now seems mainly composed of minority ethnic groups, with non having a clear advantage. Calabar for instance consists of the Efik, the Efuts and the Quas.

Betrayal of confidence on the part of leaders or members seems to be the greatest problem bedeviling the associations. In Calabar as was seen during the urban survey, the problem lies more with initiative and personal appeal of officers of the associations to the other members, and personality conflicts than in betrayal of trust, or misuse of funds. The Obudu Development Association (ODA) in Calabar was virtually inept because of this, yet it was quite an active organization a few years prior to the fieldwork.

This inertia created less zeal among members, resulting in non-payment of dues, and non-attendance of meetings which had become very irregular. There was even fear among some members that programmes and projects that had been earmarked for execution would not be completed. Such a project was an annual calendar that could not be printed for 1991.

Political cleavages can also become a major problem of the associations, as they are virtually political launching pads for interested members. Diverse opinions among members was a common occurrence. Because of the influence the associations have on members in Calabar and in the affairs of the home area, interested members seek the support of the associations. It was interesting to note that the choice of councillors for Obudu LGA in the 1990 local government elections was decided in Calabar rather than in Obudu, where supposedly indigens would be better able to judge who would serve them well.

Another problem prevalent among urban-based associations in Calabar, is indiscipline. Since the associations are basically voluntary, migrants cannot be compelled to become members in the first place. In the same manner they cannot be compelled to pay dues or fines and other contributions that may arise from time to time. If too much pressure is brought to bear on any member, he or she may simply stop attending meetings and other functions of the association. This problem may account for the financial difficulties, hence inability to execute numerous projects that could otherwise have been undertaken by the associations. It may also have to do with the apparent youthfulness of most members who evidently might tend to pursue individual purposes or prefer smaller groups than large group interactions.

6.7. **CONCLUSION.**

The urban survey portrays migrant characteristics in Calabar as being sex, age and educationally selective. The source regions of migrants into Calabar are the proximate areas of Cross River state and eastern Nigeria, particularly Akwa Ibom state perhaps through historical circumstances. Stepwise or multi-step and return migration are not common because rural poverty is far from being alleviated, and returnees fear being drawn into the vicious circle. Economic motives are the main determinants of migration into Calabar as the later remains the most important economic nerve centre in the state.

A common feature of social interaction within Calabar is among migrants and with their rural areas of origin. In town interaction is mainly in friendship groups and voluntary development associations, CDAs. The improvement in roads development as a result of the oil boom has resulted in better transportation and accessibility, which has in turn facilitated greater urban-rural interaction. Although CDAs are forms through which help reaches new arrivals who strive to settle down to urban life, they are also mutual forms of cohesion and self-help for ethnically homogeneous peoples, they can achieve much more if galvanized by government support, inspite of their apparent shortcomings.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION AND OTHER DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN THE RURAL STUDY AREAS OF OBUDU.

7.1. INTRODUCTION.

Although general rural upliftment in the state is evident inspite of the economic downturn of the late 70s and the early 80s, subsequently it is unjustifiable to ascribe such progress solely to urban-rural linkages and interaction. This is because government has intensified grass roots development under its Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) and other programes. Mabogunje (1989) believes much has been achieved by DFRRI. Thus local cooperative societies, as well as age grade associations (peer groupings) and government ministries and parastatals also collectively contribute to rural upliftment. In the latter group are the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), the Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLP), Agricultural Development Project (ADP), and the River Basin Development Authorities. Urban-based community development associations also lend weight to these multiple efforts. Migrants individually and through these urban-based community associations (CDAs) maintain bonds and linkages through interaction with rural kin thereby striving to better the rural areas. This explains why most of their development projects, where they exist are rural based. Rural communities on the other hand organize themselves in age sets through which much of every day rural life revolves around.

This chapter attempts to investigate the general belief that host areas of migration and the migrants themselves benefit more than source areas and those family members left behind.

7.2. **RURAL OUT-MIGRATION.**

In the seven rural villages (Bendi, Ohong, Bedia, Okorshie, Ukpe, Utugwang and Ipong) surveyed in Obudu, the heads of households who had children in town/urban centres were interviewed. As indicated in the rural sampling frame (5.4), it was imposible to determine the percentage of outmigrants and the households with outmigrants in the villages in the sample. Rather it was decided to achieve a relatively representative 'judgement' sampling size and classify the selected villages as having 'low' or 'high' rates of out-migration.

A majority (41.9%) of the sampled families had one or two children in town, 25.1% had three or four, and 32.2% five or more children in urban centres. See table 7.1. This is an indication of a high incidence of outmigration from the rural areas. The 32.2% of households with five or more children in urban centres reveals the high fertility in rural areas, and this could be further explained by the strength of the extended family system. It may also be likely that some of the respondents may have included close relatives (although outside the immediate family unit) as the number of children in town.

Table 7.1. Number of children in town per sample of rural household.

Number of children	Frequency	Percentage
1 or 2	95	41.9
3 or 4	57	25.1
5 and above	73	32.2
Not applicable	2	0.9
Total	227	100.0

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

7.2.a. **SEX OF RURAL OUT-MIGRANTS.**

There is a preponderance of males (28.2%) over females (7.5%) in the migration stream as indicated in table 7.2. However most of the respondents (63.4%) have both male and female children who have migrated.

Table 7.2. Sex of rural out- migrants.

SEX	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Male	64	28.2
Female	17	7.5
Both	146	64.3
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

7.3. **Urban Centres Of Outmigration.**

The rural survey indicates that towns within Cross River state are the major destinations of out-migrants from the rural areas of Obudu LGA, with Calabar as the most favoured. 19.8% of the households had an out-migrant in Calabar. This is attributable to the status of Calabar as the state capital, the most important economic and educational centre in the state and its historical importance, hence its attraction. Obudu town as the nearest urban centre and headquarters of the LGA is also important accounting for more than 12.8% of the out-migrants.

Other towns in the state such as Ogoja, Ikom, Ugep, Obubra, Akamkpa and Odukpani, are also destinations although of lesser importance, the latter four more so as they are lower in the administrative and economic hierarchy. Ikom has high attraction because of its cocoa trade, as migrants to the town have opportunity to work in cocoa farms and plantations.

The abrogation of commodity boards in 1986 has resulted in more private participation and quick gains from cocoa investment. Unfortunately the fall in world prices may not sustain this trend for long. The proximity of Ikom to the Cameroon border is an added advantage and a booster to commerce. Ogoja on the other hand is the senatorial and provincial headquarters hence this administrative privilege has tended to enhance its significance. These towns also have army batallion units that have uplifted commercial activities, hence act as pull centres of migrant attraction.

Table 7.3. Destination towns for sample of rural out-migrants.

Destination towns for migrants	Frequency	Percentage	Distance from Obudu(km)
Obudu	29	12.8	-
Ogoja	12	5.3	62
Ikom	10	4.4	110
Obubra	3	1.3	180
Ugep	3	1.3	215
Akamkpa	3	1.3	230
Odukpani	1	0.4	275
Calabar	45	19.8	310
Other towns	121	53.4	-
TOTAL	227	100.00	

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

As shown in table 7.3, distance plays a significant role in attracting to urban centres migrants in our survey sample.

7.4. RURAL DETERMINANTS OF OUT-MIGRATION.

7.4.a. Economic Determinants.

Economic motives in Obudu play an outstanding role in determining rural out-migration. The income disparity between rural and urban areas and the urge for economic fulfilment causes many ruralites to migrate. As the economy of the villages is agro-based, and since rudimentary methods of production remain in vogue, it is only in urban areas that hope of salvation lies. Unemployment and disguised or under employment of able bodied young men and women is common, and income levels are low. A national integrated survey of households by the Federal Office of statistics (FOS) in 1983/4 supports the assertion above of urban-rural disparity in incomes and other amenities. The study showed that while 64% of urban households were earning less than N200 per month, 86% in rural areas were earning less than N200 per month. The study also showed that while average monthly household income was N183 for rural areas that for urban areas was higher at N226.

In this survey undertaken in selected villages in Obudu, 43% of the respondents indicated that their children had migrated to the towns to seek for work and employment. Even though Utugwang is fairly commercialized with a daily and weekly market, and is located on the Obudu-Ogoja highway, this still does not provided sufficient impetus for people to remain.

Rural accessibility through the provision and upgrading of access roads has received a boost due to the work of DFRRI and CRBDA. For instance, a link road between Ohong, Bebwabwe and Bateriko on the Obudu-Ikom highway which existed uptill the early sixties but became impassable due to collapsed bridges, and poor maintenance was reconstructed by the CRBDA in 1991. This has made it possible for greater mobility and interaction, between the villages that are located on the route and within the LGA generally, and with Ikom LGA. DFRRI on the other hand has concentrated on the building of culverts, and seasonal maintenance of rural roads, which has been a great deal of help

especially on the very hilly routes, and rough terrain areas. The Obudu-Ogoja highway had also been macadamized by the state government.

Basically in economic terms, an average rural family in Obudu requires money to fulfil several requirements including tax, school fees, and extra food items that are not cultivated. Every family owns a farm or farms and the main crops are yams, coco yams, cassava, rice and groundnuts. Rotational bush fallow is the main system of cultivation. When harvests are poor conditions can be very difficult. Incomes are supplemented with proceeds from the sale of vegetables, palm produce and wine and craft goods such as baskets, mats, wooden mortars and pestles, etc (Udo, 1971). Some of the women engage in petty trading. Protein intake is supplemented by spoils from hunting and the local domesticated animals such as poultry, rabbits, goats, sheep and pigs. But all these difficulties and problems encourage rural out-migration.

7.4.b. **Social circumstances and other determinants.**

The virtual absence of basic social amenities in the villages and the dull rural life constitute a push factor for out-migration. The FOS survey refered to earlier found for instance, that only 8% of rural households had access to electricity and pipe borne water. In the case of Obudu, as established by this work, facilities such as pipe borne or potable water supply, electricity, hospitals, cinemas, etc are located only in Obudu town or are only now being provided. Bore holes have been sunk in many of the villages (although many function erratically as shown on Plate 7), so also is rural electrification. Only Ukpe is not electrified.

Dispensaries and maternity clinics are available only in Ipong, Ohong, Utugwang and Bendi, the other villages are not served. Pharmacies are very few and located in Ohong, Ipong and Utugwang which are very far between the other settlements. Major cases of

illness have to be referred to the Sacred Heart mission hospital at Obudu. The dearth of drugs, dressings and other medicaments and their prohibitive cost constitutes another problem.
The availability of medical personnel especially nurses and midwives, has been made easy with the location of a school of midwifery at Obudu town. Perhaps this explains the success of the two recently introduced government health programmes: the expanded programme on immunization (EPI) and the oral rehydration therapy (ORT).

Marriage is a major reason for migration especially among women, who move to urban areas to join their spouses. Some studies (O'Connor 1983, Sabot 1979, Bryant et al. 1978) for Gaborone and Ethiopian cities indicate that migration is also an outlet for rural women who have lost male support. 5.7% of heads of household interviewed in the seven villages, indicated their children had been made to move due to marriage.

Home conflicts or disputes and threats of witchcraft are also social causes of migration. The latter is seemingly becoming of lesser significance in recent times, due to more enlightenment and Christianity.

7.4.c. **Educational Determinants.**

18.1% of the respondents proffered education as the reason for out migration of their children. Education has become very important in rural livelihood as there has been recent expansion of educational facilities in Obudu LGA, and the state generally. Each of the villages has both a primary and secondary school. Bedia has a commercial secondary school, and Ohong a grammar school. Bendi has a technical School while Ipong, Utugwang and Ukpe have community secondary schools. A Federal College of Education is located in Obudu town. Since the rural economy is not expanding, graduates from these schools either migrate or face the drudgery of rural life.

The occurrence of these educational institutions however means that a few more jobs in teaching, administration and associated services are now available, and migration for educational purposes is now mainly for tertiary education. Thus although education enhances status and job opportunities in urban areas, it is in this instance not a 'necessary' cause for migration but rather a 'sufficient' cause.

7.4.d. **Land Ownership As a Determinant of Out-migration.**

It is important to regard land or plot ownership from varying perspectives and in this light assess the true situation as regards the availability of land for housing, farming etc. and to consider it as a causal factor in rural outmigration.

Table 7.4. PLOT OWNERSHIP IN RURAL AREAS.

NUMBER OF PLOTS*	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
1	23	10.1
2	38	16.7
3-5	84	37.0
5-10	49	21.6
Above 10	22	9.7
None	11	4.8
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

*Most plots in rural areas of Obudu are discrete and discontinuous.

Until the landuse act was promulgated in 1978, land in southern Nigeria was communally owned (Ola, 1984). The act now provides that all traditional lands are held in trust by the governor of

the state, but administered by a landuse committee, which issues a certificate of ownership for ownership to be established. This process is both tedious, costly and bureaucratic. In this sense most ruralites still adhere to the state of affairs before 1978, and still consider land to belong to the family or community.

It is imperative to note that answers provided by respondents to this question will reflect the extent to which the ruralites perceive land rights and ownership. Thus many (48.5%) still feel that the right to land and its ownership is that of the family or the community.

Table 7.5. Land right and ownership.

LAND OWNERSHIP	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
YES	117	51.5
NO	110	48.5
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

Due to the strong attachment to land, and the practice where land gets redistributed among the children (sons) of the head of family or household, personal ownership of land is now on the increase (50.2%), although land is still to a large extent family owned (43.2%) as indicated in table 7.6. Village or community ownership of land is no longer the order of the day with only 6.6% of respondents indicating that their land belongs to the community/village.

Only a minority of respondents (9.7%) indicate that they have a land holding problem, while 86.8% do not have any (table 7.7.). An enquiry into the dimension of the problem shows the occurrence of squabbles over land among families. Such problems arise over the obscurity of rights over time and mortgages of titles for loans or exchange of titles.

Table 7.6. TYPES OF LAND OWNERSHIP IN RURAL AREA SAMPLE.

LAND OWNERSHIP	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Family	98	43.2
Village/ Community	15	6.6
Others	114	50.2
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

Table 7.7. Problems associated with land rights and ownership.

LH PROBLEM	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Yes	22	9.7
No	197	86.8
Other	8	3.5
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

The exchange of titles occurs mainly during residential and housing choice preferences. Any member of the community or village is obliged to allow any other member to build on his or the family land. The low population density in the villages is another reason why land is not under pressure, even though it can no longer support shifting cultivation. On the whole, the land use act of 1978 is yet to have any impressionable effect on rural land rights and ownership. From our survey we can infer that lack of land plays only a small role in rural outmigration.

7.5. **MODALITIES OF URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.**

Interaction as earlier indicated is a two way arrangement between the rural and urban inhabitants. To be able to ascertain how the rural people consider and participate in this interaction, there was a need to determine empirically the visits, modes, frequency and utilization of remittances received from their urban kin.

7.5.a. **VISITS: FREQUENCY OF RURAL HOME VISITS.**

Heads of households were asked how frequently their children visited home. These visits range from very frequent (once or twice a month) to very rare visits (non in two years) as indicated in table 7.8. The survey shows that the modal group of the migrants (51.3%) visited home more than three times a year, 18.4% twice a year, 17.1% once a year, 4.4% once in two years and 7.5% very rarely visit home.

Table 7.8. Rural home visits by migrants.

NUMBER OF VISITS	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Once/Twice per month	33	14.5
Three/Four times a year	84	36.8
Two times a year	42	18.4
Once a year	39	17.1
Once in two years	10	4.4
Very rarely	17	7.5
Missing	2	1.3
TOTAL	227	100.0

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

The pattern of visits as indicated above does not show any marked variation among the villages, but it was evident that visits coincided more with periods for ceremonies (burials, anniversaries) and festivals (New yam, Easter and Christmas). Civil servants and other workers also tend to take their annual leave during these periods. Christmas coincides with both the beginning of term and farming season and provides an opportunity for adequate plans to be made where applicable. Visits at weekends are mainly undertaken by short distance migrants especially those who have wives and families in their rural homes. The beginning or end of school terms are also times of visits as these are times to pay school fees or make plans for holidays.

7.5.b. REMITTANCES AND AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY RURAL HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD.

71.9% of the heads of households interviewed acknowledged that their children in town remitted money home, while 28.1% were of the opinion that they received no remittances. This is significant.

According to the rural heads of households in our sample, amounts of remittance received from urban-based children or relatives varies between N1-500 and above (Table 7.9.). The largest category of respondents (26.9%) receive amounts between N50-200 and (19.4%), variable sums.

As was indicated earlier in section 7.4.a, there is a wide disparity in income levels between urban and rural households. Furthermore earnings and incomes in the rural areas of Obudu tend to be seasonal as harvests are seasonal, and since a majority of the inhabitants are subsistence farmers, harvests derived from farming may not necessarily bring any additional income to the household.

Table 7.9. Received amounts of remittance in rural areas per annum.

AMOUNT (N)	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
1-50	30	13.2
50-200	61	26.9
200-500	23	10.1
Above 500	5	2.2
Variable amounts	44	19.4
None	64	28.2
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

But other avenues of earning additional incomes exist in the rural areas. For instance a farmer may own a yam farm, be a hunter (this he could do alone or together with friends or peers), and tap palm wine. He may thus earn additional income from the sale of the spoils of his hunt and palm wine. The keeping of animals such as goats, pigs, sheep and poultry may also supplement income. They can also provide labour for the better placed members of the village. It is also not uncommon to see farmers engaged in other activities such as crafts, weaving etc. Women on the other hand, apart from helping in the farm may get involved in petty trading and market gardenning.

7.5.c. **FREQUENCY OF REMITTANCE.**

32.6% of the sample of rural heads of households reported that they received remittances 2 or 3 times a year, while 17.6% once a year (17.6%), and 12.3% received remittances more frequently (once a month) from their urban kin (table 7.10). The latter tends to occur among families that require constant maintenance from urban kin, especially if a husband has a wife who is residing in the rural area.
Remittances of 2 or 3 times a year correspond to the cropping seasons and school term periods, during which money is most needed by rural kin to undertake farming and pay school fees.

Table 7.10. Frequency of remittances received by rural heads of household.

FREQUENCY	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Once a month	28	12.3
2/3 times a year	74	32.6
4-6 times a year	14	6.1
Once a year	40	17.6
Others	71	31.3
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

Similarities occur in the responses by the rural sample when compared with how often urbanites report that they send remittance (table 6.17), but are not a perfect fit. Whereas 5.5% of the urban migrant sample remit money home 4-10 times a year, 6.1% of the rural respondents report thet they received remittances 4-10 times a year. A 2 or 3 times frequency is 16.9% for the urban sample and 32.6% for the rural sample.

Also while 12.3% of the sampled rural respondents report a monthly receipt of remittance, the urban equivalent is 22.7%. The differences may lie in the size of the samples and the fact that many of the urban respondents are civil servants, who receive salaries on a monthly basis. It may also have to do with high expectations of people in rural areas. From our survey they tend to believe that migrants in urban areas necessarily have better incomes and therefore must remit more. However it is not always the case as urban migrants also have personal needs to fulfil.

7.5.d. **MODES THROUGH WHICH REMITTANCES ARE RECEIVED.**

The major modes through which rural heads of households receive remittances from their urban kin is from friends (15%), relatives (19.4%) or self delivery (12.3%). A greater proportion of respondents (42.7) receive remittances through a combination of most of these methods. Post offices or banks are not favourably used (10.6%) due to the bureaucracy involved in cashing postal orders or cheques and the trouble involved in having to travel to town where a bank or post office locates, and such problems need to be avoided as most rural parents are illiterate.

7.5.e. **UTILIZATION OF REMITTANCE.**

The utilization of remittances received from urban kin by ruralites in the villages studied, shows strong preference for the training of younger brothers and sisters, especially paying of school fees (34.4%) (table 7.11). Farming takes the next largest share (15.0%) since it is the major activity in rural areas. Feeding (5.7%) takes quite a little share of remittances received because of the involvement of a large proportion of ruralites in agricultural and food production in the rural areas.

In fact the rural areas constitute the food basket of urban areas. It is common for remittances to be used solely for the purchase of food to be sent to urban residents or collected when they visit. This supports the multi-directional dimension of remittances as depicted by Campbell (1988). Other forms of utilizing remittance is for marriage (5.7%), medication (1.8%) and building a house (1.3%). It seems likely that most urban migrants only embark on marriage after they have secured a job and settled down in town. Courtship encourages frequent home visits, as traditional wedding rites are numerous, lengthy and painstaking.

Table 7.11. Purpose and utilization of remittances by rural sample.

Utilization of remittace	Frequency	Percentage
Feeding in village	13	5.7
Farming	34	15.0
School fees	78	34.4
Build house	3	1.3
Marry wife	13	5.7
Medication	4	1.8
Other uses	54	23.8
Multiple uses	28	12.3
Total	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91

Rural utilization of remittances has been investigated severally by Lipton 1976, Johnson and Whitelaw 1974, Campbell 1988, Caldwell 1969, Rempel and Lobdell 1977, Essang and Mabawonku 1974, etc. These studies showed that remittances in rural areas are used mainly for consumption goods for everyday use, support of family and friends, maintenance of farms, debt repayment, education of younger siblings etc.

Lipton's categorization of priorities that govern rural utilization of remittances is as follows:

i. The payment of debts and the provision of education for sons;
ii. The purchase of consumption goods for everyday needs;
iii. Education of younger sibblings and
iv. Investment.

Debt repayment does not feature prominently as a mode of remittance utilization among respondents in Obudu. This is mainly because peer and age group sets encourage savings, that take care of taxes (which seem to be a major drain on rural incomes) and other rural requirements. These groups also frown upon indebted members, who may be ridiculed from time to time. Where debts occur their burden is less felt as they are borne by all the adult members of the extended family. In some cases however land could be used to repudiate loans.

Education of children is not the preserve of only sons in Obudu as Lipton's study indicates. Dowry is paid for a bride by the male spouse or family, and better educated brides attract higher dowry. This seems to make the education of girls a priority initially, as she subsequently becomes an asset to the family she marries into.

7.6. **RURAL IMPACT OF URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION.**

Many researchers (Amin, 1974 etc) have argued that rural out-migration is often deleterious to rural source regions.
To empirically determine this respondents were asked to give an assessment of their general family livelihood since migration, the nature of any deterioration that had occured and indicate any benefits they had received from urban-based associations either as a community or personally. They were also asked to give a personal view on migration.

7.6.a. **STATE OF FAMILY LIVELIHOOD SINCE MIGRATION.**

Only 11.5% of those interviewed indicated they had experienced a deterioration in general family condition since the outmigration of their children, while 59.9% reported improvement. 28.6% believe their condition had remained the same (table 7.12).

Table 7.12. Family condition since outmigration.

FAMILY CONDITION	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Remained same	65	28.6
Improved	136	59.9
Deteriorated	26	11.5
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

In order to ascertain if rural family livelihood was dependent on other variables, cross tabulation was undertaken between state of rural family livelihood and number of children in town; frequency of remittance and amount of remittance (tables 7.13, 7.14 and 7.15).

The number of children per rural household who have migrated to town seems to be inversely related to the state of rural family livelihood. The lesser the number of children the greater the deterioration. Thus of the 26 households (11.5%) who reported some deterioration 15 had 2 children or fewer in town, while 3 and 8 of the households who reported deterioration had 3 or 4 and 5 children and above in town respectively.

Table 7.13. Cross tabulation of state of family livelihood and number of children in town.

Number of children in town	Remained the same	Improved	Deteriorated	Row total
1-2	31	51	15	97 (42.8%)
3-4	13	41	3	57 (25.1%)
5 and above	21	44	8	73 (32.2%)
Total	65 (28.6%)	136 (59.9)	26 (11.5%)	227 (100.0)

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91

There seems to be the situation where the more children a rural household has in town the more would be the remittances hence more money for the rural families to sustain themselves.

Table 7.14. Cross tabulation of amount of remittance with state of rural family livelihood.

Amount of remittance (N) per annum	Remained the same	Improved	Deteriorated	Row Total
1-50	7	18	5	30 (13.2%)
50-200	10	48	3	61 (26.9%)
200-500	3	19	1	23 (10.1%)
Above 500	-	5	-	5 (2.2%)
Varied amounts	11	31	2	44 (19.4%)
None	34	15	15	64 (28.2%)
Total	65 (28.6%)	136 (59.9%)	26 (11.5%)	227 (100.0%)

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

As shown by table 7.16, of the 26 households that reported deterioration, 15 did not receive any remittances, 8 households experienced remittances of less than N200, 1 between N200-500 and 2 varied amounts. Within this same group, only 2 households reported remittances of once a month, 5, 2 or 3 times a year, and 4 once a year (table 7.15).

Table 7.15. Cross tabulation of Frequency of remittance with state of rural family livelihood.

Frequency of remittance	State of rural family livelihood			Row total
	Remained the same	Improved	Deteriorated	
Monthly	2	24	2	28 (12.3%)
2/3 a year	16	53	5	74 (32.6%)
4 times a year	1	7	-	8 (3.5%)
5/6 a year	1	5	-	6 (2.6%)
Yearly	9	27	4	40 (17.6%)
Others	36	20	15	71 (31.3%)
Total	65 (28.6%)	136 (59.9%)	26 (11.5%)	227 (100.0%)

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

7.6.b. **NATURE OF DETERIORATION OF RURAL FAMILY.**

About 88.5% of respondents in the rural sample (table 7.16) had not experienced any deterioration within the family since the outmigration of their kin. 3.1% miss the presence of their children maybe because they have been absent for long periods without visiting. The basic conclusion is that rural outmigration is beneficial.

Table 7.16. Nature of deterioration of family.

NATURE OF DETERIORATION	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
Reduced farm yields	1	.4
Reduced income	6	2.6
Other reasons	12	5.3
All of the above	6	2.6
Not applicable	200	88.5
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

2.2% complained of inadequate care, and 3.1% had experienced a reduction in income. Only one respondent construed the reduction of farm yields as a result of out-migration. This is because the quality of harvest is generally taken to be the will of divine providence. The periodicity of the rains is also important. It explains why the new yam festival is an occasion to give thanks to God for whatever harvest is achieved. The utilization of fertilizers in enhancing farm yields (not used by a majority of rural farmers) has yet to change this thinking.

7.6.c. **Prosperity Assessment Of Migrants And Migration By A Sample Of Rural Heads Of Households.**

The following reasons for migration and assessment of migrants, were given by a retiree at Ohong (1991):

> 'Young men and women leaving their rural homes for big towns do so for several reasons:
> 1. To satisfy their curiosity.
> 2. To look for jobs which are not available in their rural homes.
> 3. In quest of knowledge in higher institutions of learning.
> 4. For a change of environment.
> 5. To run away from responsibilities.'

This represents a general impression most ruralites have of urban residents. The person in question has thirteen children and only the youngest one who attends primary school is still with him in the village. All the rest are in urban areas, working, married, or attending tertiary institutions. One is abroad, one is in Lagos and another in Ibadan, five are in Calabar (two in university and three working), three in Obudu (one working and two attending secondary school) and another attends secondary school in Ikom. Here is an indication of how migration could effectively disintegrate a family. Most certainly lots of difficulties would and often do arise in the upkeep and maintenance of such a large family, although this may be an extreme case.

Rural respondents were asked if they considered that migrants were better placed than their rural counterparts. 32.2% felt urban residents were better placed while 67.8% believed to the contrary.

They were also asked to give reasons for such opinion. 32.2% believed urbanites enjoyed better amenities, 11% better salaries, and 3% felt there was better medical care in urban centres (table 7.17). 17.2% of the respondents were of the opinion that all the above reasons were tenable. Surprisingly, 31.3% felt rural life was better, 7% were of no opinion or undecided.

Table 7.17. Factors determining prosperity assessment of urbanites by a sample of rural heads of household.

Factors	Respondents	%
Better salaries	25	11.0
Better amenities	73	32.2
Better medicare	3	1.3
All of the above	39	17.2
Rural life better	71	31.3
Other view	3	1.3
No view	13	5.7
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

These responses reflect to a great extent the disparity in urban and rural conditions. Although there may be apparent lack of the basic amenities in rural areas, yet some ruralites feel rural conditions are better than the urban situation. A major reason for this ascertionis that food is comparatively cheaper in the rural than urban areas. Moreover most rural people own farms and are engaged in farming, and sometimes an additional occupation, while their urban counterparts even though they may have higher incomes still spend a greater proportion of this on food. In the same manner, while many urbanites spend a large portion of their incomes on rent most rural households own their own homes.

7.7. The Impact of Urban-based Community Development Associations In Rural Development.

In order adequately to assess the impact of urban-based development associations in rural development, it seems perhaps more meaningful to view development from the point of view of the inhabitants of the study area. But more importantly development impact can be beneficial or adverse and have temporal ramifications.

The UN defines community development as 'the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.' In similar perspective Goswani and Roy (1953) while emphasizing selfhelp opine that community development projects should aim at:

a. introducing changes and undertaking works in villages which will lead to the economic, social and cultural improvement of the villages;

b. inducing the villagers to carry out by themselves as many of the works as possible; and

c. securing complete cooperation between the government agencies and the villagers in this effort.

Of the nine associations studied only four had any projects or programmes they were undertaking during the fieldwork period (Oct.1990-March 1991). Infact the parent association the Obudu Development Association (ODA) was scheduling its project (a civic centre) in Calabar, and no home project was being contemplated.

Table 7.18. Community/Personal benefits derived from urban based associations.

IF BENEFITED	FREQUENCY COMMUNITY/PERSONAL		PERCENTAGE COMMUNITY/PERSONAL	
YES	106	73	46.7	32.2
NO	121	154	53.3	67.8
TOTAL	227	227	100.00	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

The research showed that the associations may not have achieved much impact in their home areas (table 7.18). The greater bond within the extended family could be the reason and an indication that urban-rural interaction is mainly family based. However the facilitative achievements of the associations cannot be totally ignored.

Perhaps an important area where urban-based associations have had an impact in their rural areas is that the rural communities have been galvanized into having development associations of their own (appendix 3). 77.5% of respondents in the rural survey were members of these associations, while 22.5% were not (table 7.19).

It is difficult to differentiate community vis a vis personal benefits as derivable from the urban based associations. This is moreso as they tend to be based on roles such associations can facilitate rather than specific projects they embark on. For instance it is difficult to say how beneficial a secondary school is to a community or personally after a few years of its existence. The roles played by both local and urban based individuals or community and associations becomes blurred. The jobs such a project provides for the recipient community are difficult to quantify not to talk of the apparent benefits to pupils who attend the school.

Table 7.19. **Membership of Rural Local Community Development Association.**

MEMBERSHIP	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
YES	176	77.5
NO	51	22.5
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

7.8. THE ROLE OF AGE/PEER GROUPS (SETS) (*ATEN*) IN THE ORGANIZATION OF RURAL LIFE.

Age groups (table 7.20) are the bedrock of the day to day dynamics of rural villages and communities. They are sets of people with the same or very closely the same ages and must be about 18 years of age before allowed to function by the rest of the community. The initiation of this researcher into his own group (Ukobo age grade), provided the basis for an indepth study of how the peer groups function.

In the rural setting membership of age groups is obligatory, and achievement motivated. This is in the sense that right from birth it is taken for granted that one belongs to a particular age grade, and one begins to be recognized in village gatherings only if you are a fully fledged member of your age group. One is judged on social achievements by one's peers. To be a full member requires payment of outstanding dues and contributions in cash and materially. A special ceremony may be held during which a new member is welcome and fully integrated with his peers. Over food and drinks that are generally contributed (with a large share from the new member) business is transacted as usual.

Table 7.20. AGE GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' SAMPLE.

AGE GROUP/COHORT	OCCURRENCE	PERCENTAGE
1. (75 and above)	10	4.4
2. (66-75)	15	6.6
3. (56-65)	17	7.5
4. (46-55)	16	7.0
5. (41-45)	37	16.3
6. (36-40)	39	17.2
7. (31-35)	25	11.0
8. (26-30)	32	14.1
9. (20-25)	36	15.9
TOTAL	227	100.00

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91.

This involves checking of the roll (an absentee member can be represented by a proxy, while abstention without apologies attracts a fine), the payment of dues (weekly or biweekly; the local week is a five day week), discussion of outstanding issues (these maybe projects at hand or events planned for the weeks ahead, loan requests, farm obligations, or general issues affecting the village/community as a whole). Meetings are held on a weekly basis, but this decreases with the seniority of the set. Business is conducted by elected officers. These include a chairman, vice chairman, secretary (*akawu*) (normally a literate member of the group where possible), financial secretary, treasurer and sergeant at arms (*ukplugwu*) (see figure 7.1).

Of the 227 rural heads of households interviewed, 84.6% strongly participate in the activities of their age groups. The other 15.4% who happened to be comparatively younger did not participate fully. Active participation is imperative as most duties in the villages are undertaken between groups of age sets, such as building a local house, marriage, communal works like building a road or a foot bridge, farming and festivals.

Age sets also facilitate membership of local community development associations or committees at the rural level which has become common due to the efforts of government through DFRRI. The government chose to deal with these committees as agents or representatives of the communities, in the attempt to achieve grassroots development. As indicated earlier, 75.5% of rural heads of households are members while 22.5% of respondents interviewed were not members of their local community association (see table 7.19).

7.8.a. **DERIVABLE BENEFITS OF MEMBERSHIP IN AGE GROUP SETS.**

Benefits deriveable from membership of age groups can be personal as well as communal. They may include the following:

i. Age groups provide a feeling of kin, solidarity, cooperation and oneness. They are based principally on kinship, since all members belong to the same village and are therefore kinsmen.

ii. They are a forum for social and mutual interaction, and the basic and most important unit of village interaction outside the extended family. Through them peer social aspirations are actualised. It is obligatory for members to pay visits and show solidarity during marriages, burials and other ceremonial occasions.

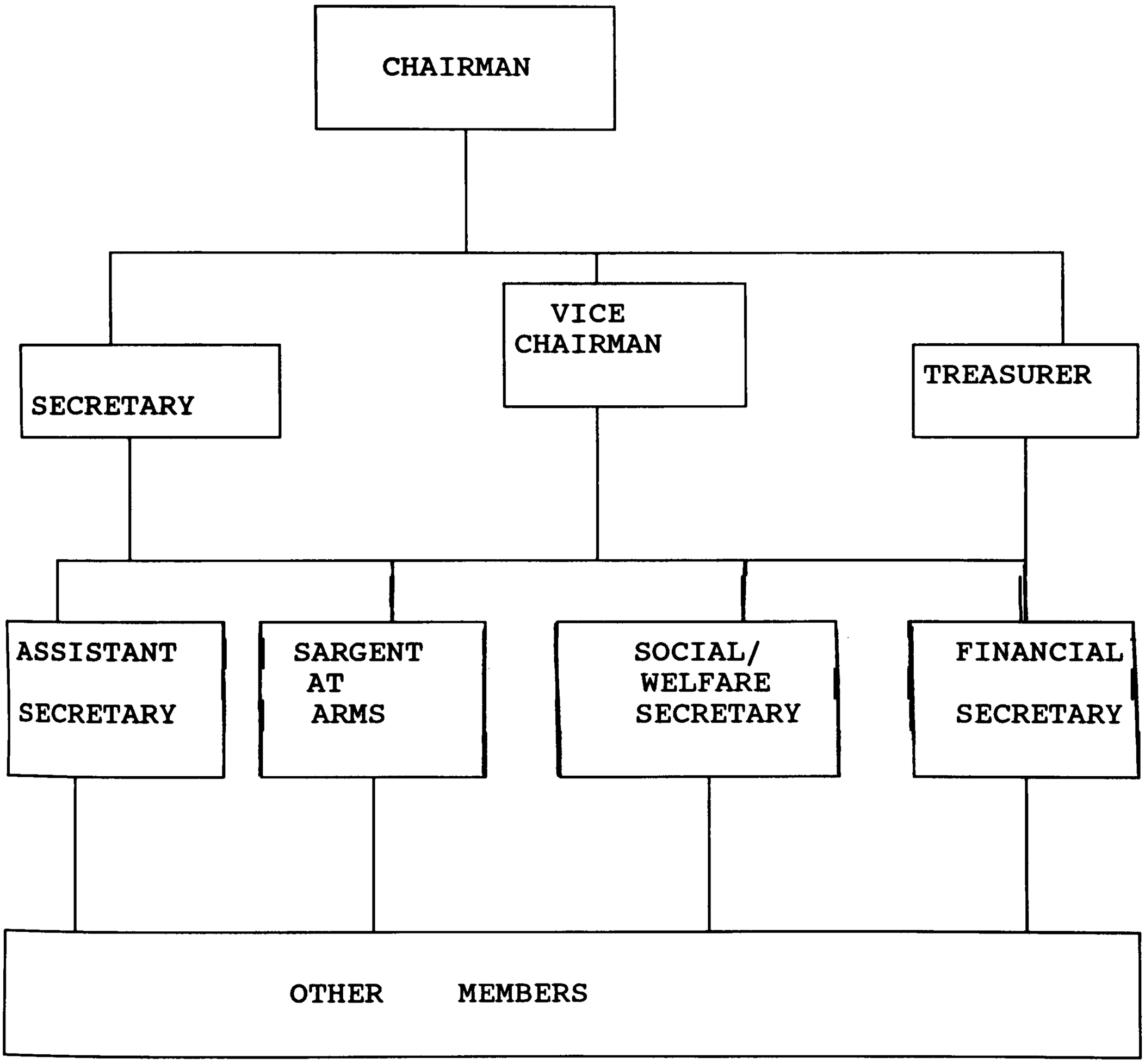
iii. They ease village organization, and collective local action. Since they are mutually accountable, they provide the basic unit of executing village tasks passed on by the village council. Compliance is essential as records are kept, and non-compliance attracts a fine.

iv. They are important units for the organization of farm labour. Since at this level members may begin to own farms, they on a rotatory basis work on the farm of any member who so desires, undertaking such tasks as deforestation, ploughing and making of mounds, planting, weeding and harvesting as the case may be. The recipient member provides basic entertainment as provided for by the age group.

v. As savings groups, they collectively pay their annual taxes, thereby easing the burden of government revenue officers. This represents a laudable mode of self management. They also provide loans to members who may require them. The groups have very effective methods for enforcing repayment of such loans, for instance acquiring the property of any defaulting member.

vi. They represent thriving grassroots units of democracy. Discussions and debates accompany every issue and each member has a say. Each member is assured of participation in the decision making process. Such decisions are made based on majority choice, and votes are cast to arrive at such decisions, if protracted arguments are involved.

FIGURE 7.1 ORGANOGRAM OF AGE GROUP/SETS IN OBUDU LGA.



7.8.b. **DISADVANTAGES OF MEMBERSHIP.**

Although age sets have obvious advantages, they also have perceiveable disadvantages:

i. They are an obstacle to personal initiative, drive and creativity, as individual success could lead to alienation from the group.

ii. They are a 'time-killer'. So much time is taken up in group meetings, interaction and social gatherings that it impinges on valuable time that could be utilized for other worthwhile individual endeavour.

iii. Age sets do not include women. Even though this is based on the fact that women are supposed to get married to spouses in villages other than their village of origin, yet this form of organization to a great extent does not involve and take into cognisance the interests of females. It therefore does not create an opportunity for women's empowerment.

7.9. **RURAL IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES.**

Having assessed the various aspects of interaction and organization in rural areas of Obudu LGA and their impact on rural development processes, it is also imperative to assess the extent to which government agencies have facilitated these processes. These agencies include DFRRI, CRBDA, NDE, CRADP, and the Better life programme (BLP). Since these agencies confine their activities to the state as a whole, it seemed appropriate to undertake a rather broad appraisal of their projects and programmes with emphasis on Obudu LGA (appendix 4). This is because these projects and programmes were found to have been undertaken jointly by the agencies in most instances, with collaboration from the rural communities concerned, and the assistance of urban-based community development associations. The agencies provided the framework for government participation.

7.9.a. **Directorate for Food Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI).**

The directorate was set up in 1986 to take over some of the rural development aspects that were heretherto the duties of the River Basin Development Authorities. To be undertaken in phases, the directorate was to implement the following programmes:

1. A nation-wide rural water and sanitation programme (RUWATSAN) to provide drinking water to about 250 rural communities in each state;

2. The construction of over 90,000 kilometres of feeder roads in the rural communities of the country;

3. The promotion of the utilization of clay and laterite bricks for low-cost rural housing;

4. A massive programme of food cultivation in rural communities for enhanced food production. This would involve the production of high yielding seed varieties for such arable crops as rice, maize, millet, sorghum, wheat, soya beans, cowpeas, cassava, yams and potatoes; oil seeds as oil palm, sunflower and groundnuts; and in horticulture, citrus, mango, pineapples, plantains, bananas and vegetable seeds; the small livestock production of sheep, goats, pigs and rabbits; and an aquiculture programme to boost fish production.

5. A rural artisans skills acquisition programme and the promotion of small-scale cottage industries in order to create jobs and diversify rural production systems, and the enhancement of rural engineering and technology.

6. A rural electrification programme to promote rural industrial development and improvement of the living conditions in rural areas.

7. Adult education and social mobilization of rural communities.

In assessing the performance of DFRRI, Mabogunje (1989:358-9) asserts that

> 'The results achieved to date have been truly phenomenal, especially in terms of national re-orientation as to what development entails. It is certainly a far cry from the days when development was equated with the acquisition of foreign factories and structures that have no immediate relevance to the exploitation and utilization of local resources.'

As a follow up to the above observation, in Cross River state, a major area where DFRRI has established a solid foundation for rural improvement is the formation of community development committees (CDCs), at the grassroots or local government level. In the Obudu LGA for instance, 54 CDCs have been formed even though they seem to have an earlier history as development associations (see appendix 4.). The main functions of these committees include the planning and execution of community projects, agents for negotiating payment of matching grants to community projects and the provision of grassroots support to DFRRI. They also act as information agents and agents for the collection of government levies and protection of public facilities, promotion of high standards in community schools, in organising and supervising environmental sanitation, and agents for the maintenance of law and order.

Indeed, at the rural level, it is very evident now that the communities recognize that they, and only they are the main architects of their emancipation. With the participation in self-development they now enjoy through galvanization from government, there is more interest for self-help development and goal achievement, even in the face of financial handicap.

The success of DFRRI in other areas like the provision of access roads, electricity, water supply and food production in the rural areas, has been mutually reinforcing, moreso as the functions of the directorate are complementary to the duties of the LGAs, MAMSER, and the ministries of works, transport and agriculture.

However, the hurry with which some of the projects were undertaken has led to poor results such as non-functional bore-holes (Plates 7 and 8), and late arrival of improved seedlings for planting. Thus even though about 96 bore holes with hand pumps had been dug in most rural communities of the state, not all are functional. The directorate under its Rural water and sanitation programme (RUWATSAN) also targeted 100 and 260 boreholes for execution in 1991 and 1992 respectively (1st phase), as well as 13 mini water schemes in each of the LGAs of the state outside Calabar. The directorate has also in conjunction with the Better life programme, provided a water facility at the Garri processing factory at Akpabuyo. Other water projects undertaken by DFRRI and assisted by the state government include the :

1. The Nigeria Airforce base water scheme;

2. The Nasarawa abbatoir water scheme;

3. Water supply scheme through borehole and overhead tanks at the Federal College of Education, Sacred Heart Hospital, St Joseph's Centre for the Blind and Handicap Centre all at Obudu.

This has made potable water more readily available to more communities, and reduce daily man hours expended in search for water, and shortages are very acute during the dry season. It is certain also to help in the eradication of the scourge of water borne diseases, such as guinea worm, dysentry and cholera.

Plate 1. Rural electrification: A Step-down transformer in Ohong.

Plate 2. Electricity distribution in Obudu LGA.

Plate 3. A community town hall: Ipong.

Plate 4. A call for self-help and hardwork: Bendi.

Plate 5. A community polyclinic at Ipong. An urban-based association community development project.

Plate 6. The strength of an eagle symbolises development. An urban-based association community development project at Obudu.

Plates 7 and 8. Non-functioning and functioning boreholes of DFRRI at Ipong.

The involvement of the directorate in agriculture or food production is purely promotional. It is thus involved in seed multiplication and not food production. Six agricultural improved seedlings nurseries (oil palm) have been established in Ikot Nakada (Odukpani), Uyanga (Akamkpa), Ugep (Yakurr), Ogboja (Ogoja) and Utugwang (Obudu). These nurseries which raise seedlings for distribution at subsidized prices to farmers in conjunction with the State ministry of Agriculture, had been established by 1988. 300,000 sprouted oil palm seedlings were distributed in 1990. The Directorate also distributes improved rice, maize, cassava to contract farmers in all the LGAs seasonally or annually. These oil palm seedlings are purchased from the Nigerian Institute for Oil Palm Research (NIFOR).

Two fish hatcheries at Bekwara (Ogoja LGA) and Ibonda (Odukpani LGA) had been established, for the sale of fingerlings, fishfarm chemicals and fish gear. The intension is to supply 1.5 million fingerlings a year to fish farmers in the state.

Electricity had been provided by 1988, for five rural communities. These were with costs:

Utugwang (Obudu LGA), N1,109,834.29 (see plates 1 and 2)

Ugaga (Ogoja LGA), N1,181,225.43

Edor (Ikom LGA), N951,517.87

Obio Usiere (Akamkpa LGA), N1,068,344.38

Itigidi (Abi LGA), N1,084,438.00

During the second phase these other projects were also undertaken and completed:

Nde (Ikom LGA), N3.1m

Ikot Opkora (Akamkpa LGA), N3,872,112.70

Mkpani (Yakurr LGA), N979,891.77 and

Nyanasang (Calabar municipality) N678,502.75.

The cost of these projects is quite high due to the huge financial outlay involved in linking up to the national grid, installation of step down transformers and planting of poles (plates 1 and 2), and their effective distribution. The survey, electrical and design of projects had also been carried out for 18 other communities (Oban, Okunni, Bendi, Ibil, Gabu, Adadama, Biakpan, Ikom, Gakem, Mfuma, Ntrigom, Kachuan Irruan, Ipkalegwa Igbo Imabana, Asiga, Ekori, Okorara and Igbo Ekureku). Many of the rural communities have had to tax themselves heavily to achieve project completion, in association with government and DFRRI. In a cooperative arrangement, DFRRI provides 75% of the cost of the project, while the state government, Local government and the community provide 15%, 7.5% and 2.5% respectively. Electricity provision has meant a great deal of difference as a source of energy and lighting. Socially and economically, electricity makes life more meaningful to the communities that have become lucky enough to enjoy the facility.

DFRRI, has also approved the setting up of eight community banks in the state. These are to encourage savings by the rural people and to increase money available to members of the communities, who may wish to embark on bigger but viable projects.

During the period under review, 27 artisans selected from all the Works departments of the LGAs were trained by DFRRI in the utilization of low cost local building materials in housing construction under its Rural housing programme. The programme also involved the making of burnt bricks and the production of roofing tiles. Although housing does not seem to be a problem in the rural areas of Cross River State, the recent inflation resulting in the high cost of building materials makes the greater utilization of local materials a high priority, in order to avoid any problem of homelessness. These efforts will only be meaningful if these basic materials are readily available and affordable.

In the aspect of rural industrialization, DFRRI is still formulating strategies for setting up agro/mineral based industries, encouraging arts and crafts and the training of vocational skills and trade.

In the area of access roads, over 728.2 km had been constructed, reconstructed or rehabillitated in varios parts of the state, but due to the fact that the roads are not surface dressed, they get very quickly degraded, because of the heavy rains in the area. The directorate has also completed plans to construct seven jetties at various locations in the state during its 2nd phase of programme activities. During this phase also, 1062 km of earth roads were newly constructed or reconstructed, and 234 km rehabilitated.

The basic necessity to provide better accessibility between rural areas and other settlement centres generally and enhance the evacuation of farm produce to areas of need seems to have been achieved to a large extent.

7.9.b. **National Directorate of Employment (NDE).**

The directorate was set up in 1986 to articulate and implement various schemes designed to facilitate self-employment generation among different categories of the unemployed. These schemes include:

1. National Open Apprentice-ship Schemme (NOAS).

This is designed to provide vocational training to secondary school leavers and other unemployed youths. On-the-job placements are organized for the participants with government institutions and private enterprises, so that they acquire enough skills to become artisans and craftsmen in such trades as building, auto, mechanical, electrical/electronics trades, computer technology, printing, draughtsmanship, woodwork/carpentry, plumbing, welding, music, tailoring and fashion design, auxiliary nursing, photography, typing and shorthand, catering etc. Over 1,216 trainees from Cross River state have been recipients in this scheme.

2. Small-scale enterprises (SSE) and graduate entrepreneurship programme.

This job creation loan quarantee scheme is designed to provide financial assistance (N5,000- 35,000 and up to N50,000 in some cases) to graduates with viable business ideas, to establish small-scale enterprises that are employment generating. The beneficiaries use their degree certificates and testimonials as securities for the loans. The mature people's scheme for retirees grants loans of up to N150,000 to beneficiaries.

The entrepreneurship development programme (EDP) is an intensive training course for intending participants in the small scale industries and graduate employment programme. Over 1,200 participants from the state had been trained by 1990, under the EDP.

3. Graduates and non-graduates agricultural self-employment programme.

This embodies individuals with sufficient interest for self-employment in farming. Farmland (5 hectares) is acquired and allocated to recipients, who are also provided with loans in cash and kind. The loans are administered through banks in order to achieve financial discipline. 448 participants in Cross River state have received loans (N10-50,000) in cash and kind to go into commercial farming.

4. Special public works (SPW) programme for both graduates and non-graduates. This involves the identification of projects to be undertaken by both states and local governments, such as construction and roads building maintenance, tree planting, environmental sanitation, land clearing and other farm support services. Over 1,000 from the state had already participated in the programme by 1988.

The impact of these programmes embarked upon by the NDE in reducing unemployment has been diverse with some spectacular successes in a few cases. This has been particularly seen in the garment and fabrics industry that has experienced such phenomenal growth in exports internationally. At the national level traditional wears and apparels have been given a boost with many more fashion design shops opening up in the last few years than ever before, indicating high patronage and diversification. Many more people have achieved self-employment resulting in multiplier effect and self reliance. The directorate has helped to some extent in reducing the unemployment levels in Calabar and aided in achieving self actualization for those who have benefited from its programmes in the state generally. But it is difficult to determine the rate of unemployment in the state. Although the NDE is supposed to operate a register of unemployed persons, it rather keeps records only of people who have participated in or are awaiting placement on its programmes. Furthermore, no records exist in government ministries or any where else for such information.

But the trend seems to be that unemployment levels are not as high as they would otherwise have been. For instance a recent national survey (FOS) suggests that unemployment rate declined to 3.2% from 4.5% in 1989, while urban and rural unemployment rates declined from 8.1% and 3.7% to 5.9% and 3.0% respectively during the same period. In 1991 the rates further dropped to 4.4% and 2.6% for urban and rural areas respectively.

Furthermore, the employment directorate created 148,109 new jobs (137,200 for non-university graduates) within its first year of inception. In 1992 the directorate was also given a presidential mandate to create one million additional new jobs, with an operational budget of N1,000 million.

It however remains to be seen whether the loans given out by the NDE can ever be recovered even though banks have been involved in the process. Most recipients default in loan repayments because the NDE has no effective apparatus for loan recovery, and because they have always felt wrongly that they now have received their own share of the 'national cake'. This has always been a major problem with government programmes of this nature.

The ILO is monitoring and assisting the NDE in its programmes. The next few months and years ahead will determine if the NDE can assume the mantle of a fully government accredited agency for employment generation, especially if it is allowed to continue to function after a change of government in August, 1993.

7.9.c. **Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLP).**

The aims and objectives of the programme at inception in 1987 include:

1. To raise the social consciousness of women about their rights, as well as their social, political and economic responsibilities;

2. To bring women together and closer for better understanding and resolution of their problems through collective action;

3. To mobilize women for concrete activities towards achieving specific objectives, including seeking leadership roles in all spheres of national life;

4. To stimulate and motivate women in rural areas towards achieving a better and higher standard of life as well as to sensitise the general populace to the plight of rural women;

5. To educate women on simple hygiene, family planning and on the importance of child care;

6. To enlighten women in rural areas on opportunities and facilities available to them at their local government areas;

7. To improve and enrich family life; and

8. To encourage and institutionalize recreation.

Table 7.21. **Projects undertaken by the BLP, nation-wide.**

PROJECT	NUMBER
Cooperatives	7,635
Cottage industries	997
Farms and gardens	1,751
Shops and markets	489
Women centres	419
Social welfare schemes	163

SOURCE: West Africa (29 July-4 August 1991)
'Battling Hunger' p.1247
Newswatch magazine, (August 5, 1991).
'Women with a cause' pp.10-15.

It seems that the BLP has gone further afield to achieve its aims and objectives. For instance it has gone ahead to embark on such projects as cooperatives, cottage industries, farms, markets, women centres and social welfare schemes (see table 7.21 and plates 7-10) in all states of the country. In Cross River State BLP has undertaken the following projects:

1. Centre for women development building (N20m);

2. Maryam Babangida women educational vocational centre (N2m);

3. Akpabouyo oil processing mill (N300,000);

4. Garri processing mills (N250,000) at

a. Ugep in Yakkurr LGA,

b. Betukwel in Obudu LGA (see plate 10);

5. Kernel cracking mill in Ohong, Obudu LGA (N200,000) (see plate 12);

6. Rice mills (N300,000) at

a. Obudu (Plate 11) and

b. Obubra LGAs;

7. Pottery kilns (N400,000) at

a. Ogoja LGA and

b. Bisu, Obanlikwu LGA;

8. Women vocational centres (N200,000) at

a. Ikom, and

b. Odukpani;

9. Doctors housing quarters at Okpoma in Yala LGA;

10. Train the trainers workshops on soap making, weaving and cooperative management (N200,000); and

Plate 9. A cassava farm project of BLP at Ukwel-Obudu.

Plate 10 A BLP gari processing mill under construction in Betukwel, Obudu LGA.

Plate 11 A BLP rice mill project under contruction in Obudu.

Plate 12 A BLP kernel cracking mill at Ohong, Obudu LGA.

11. Oral rehydration therapy (ORT) assistance programmes, immunization and health related campaigns (N100,000).

The success of the programme to a great extent has been in the awareness created among rural women both nationally and to a lesser extent internationally. At the national level this awareness has been achieved by the establishment of centres for women development at the state level and local government chapters and branches of the BLP, which have taken the emancipation message to the grassroots, which could institutionalize and consolidate the gains of the programme.

The programme has also led to very high success levels attained by the expanded programme on immunization (EPI) and the oral rehydration therapy (ORI) government health programmes. It is due perhaps to the significance of these achievements that it has earned the originator of the BLP programme Mrs. Maryam Babangida, had an honourary doctorate in law conferred on her by the University of Nigeria, Nsukka in April 1992 for 'her contributions to the upliftment of Nigerian womanhood'. She was also on 11 February 1992 honored with the 'Primary Healthcare Award of Honour' by the Federal Ministry of Health and Human Services in recognition of her dedication and contribution to the acceptance of primary healthcare by Nigerian women. At the international level she also earned an award: the 1991 Africa prize for leadership for the sustainable end of Hunger, awarded by the Hunger project.

7.9.d. **Cross River Basin Development Authority (CRBDA).**

In 1976, the federal government enacted a decree establishing 11 river basin development authorities. One of these was the Cross River Basin Development authority with its sphere of influence being the Cross River state, and parts of Akwa Ibom and Imo states. Under the decree the basin authorities were charged with general water resource development and the following aspects of rural development:

1. The mechanized clearing and cultivation of land for the production of crops and livestock, and for forestry.

2. To undertake the large scale multiplication of improved seeds, livestock and tree seedlings for distribution to farmers and for afforestation schemes;

3. To process crops, livestock products and fish produced by farmers in partnership with government agencies and other parties;

4. The construction of small dams, wells and boreholes for rural water supply schemes and of feeder roads for the evacuation of farm produce;

5. The provision of power for rural electrification schemes, and

6. The establishment of agro-service centres and grazing reserves.

The CRBDA established area offices in all LGAs of the state in 1980, and has embarked on many mini-dam and agricultural projects. One of these is the Ukwel-Obudu dam water project. Envisaged to cost N100 million it is earmarked for completion in 1992. Land for the project was donated free by the Okwel-Obudu and Ipong communities. No compensation was requested either for the land, the crops nor the economic trees that were destroyed to make way for the dam. This examplary goodwill was commended both by the minister of Water Resources and Mr. President when the later visited the site in November, 1991.

The benefits of the dam now and in the future include:

1. Since it is being built principally by communal labour, it is hoped to provide all year round gainful employment for about 2,000 farming families and direct employment for about 100 Obudu indigens as provided by the CRBDA;

2. The dam is planned to have a capacity to provide potable water for Obudu and Obanlikwu LGAs as well as neighbouring Benue state;

3. About 1,000 hectares of the Abeb river flood plain in which the dam is being built will be irrigated all year round and enhance the production of rice, maize, vegetables and other crops;

4. The lake created by the dam will enhance fishery development and improve the protein supply in the area, as well as provide tourist possibilities of boating and game fishing, being close to the Obudu cattle ranch, a major tourist attraction;

5. Prevalent water borne diseases such as guinea worm and bilharzia may be eventually eradicated.

As another way of improving the performance of the authorities generally, in April, 1992 performance agreements for the commercialization of the 11 River basin development authorities were signed between the Federal government and the technical committee charged with the privatization and commercialization of over 110 government enterprises. These agreements are aimed at enhancing the economic efficiency and accountability of the authorities. The agreements also aim to formalize the corporate plan and mutual obligations of the basin authorities and government. Under the plan, the basin authorities are required to adhere strictly to well defined and set out performance objectives and targets. The agreements are to also provide appropriate monetary reward and penalties to induce management to achieve the agreed goals, and financial support from government.

River Basin Authorities have had a checkered existence and achievements especially in rural development appear only piecemeal, yet so much money seems to have been invested in their activities, such as dam construction. Perhaps their major problem lies in being charged with too many functions and activities to undertake. In this light the decision of government in 1986 to restrict their activities to only river basin development can be considered as a step in the right direction.

7.9.e. **Cross River Agricultural Development Project (CRADP).**

The Cross River Agricultural Development Project (CRADP) was set up in March 1985 under the Cross River State Agricultural and Rural Development Authority edict no.6. Structured into three phases (1st 4 years and the 2nd and 3rd, 3 years each), it considers the small scale farmer as its centre piece of incremental food production. Its objectives are:

i) To increase the production of food crops mainly cassava, yams, maize, rice, plantains etc;

ii) To raise farmers incomes;

iii) To upgrade rural roads and water supplies to rural farmers and

iv) To strengthen indigenous capabilities for agricultural planning and project execution.

The project is funded by the state and federal governments of Nigeria and the IBRD and IFAD. In the first phase, the project received funding from its sponsors as follows:

IBRD	N15.6m	(56.5%)
FGN	6.4m	(23.2%)
CRSG	4.6m	(16.7%)
IFAD	1.0m	(3.6%)

The project maintains three core sub-programmes:

1. Technical. This division provides agricultural services for client farmers in the area of extension, seed multiplication and on-farm adaptive research. For extension purposes, a training and visits (T & V) system is operated. In 1988, 175 training sessions involving all categories of field staff and farmers were scheduled and 16,944 farm visits planned. 1,200 contact farmers had been selected. 60% of the visits were achieved. In the state 91 ADP field offices had been established. During the same period, target crops for improved seeds multiplication were cassava, maize, seed yams (minisett) and cowpeas. The on-farm adaptive research aspect of the project was involved in a diagnostic survey of farming systems and field trials involving different crop combinations and treatments (see appendix 6.a).

2. The Commercial Services Division (CSD) sub-programme is involved in input supply (fertilizer, seeds and chemicals), marketing and credit, and agric. processing.

At the commencement of the first phase of the project, the CSD has set up Primary Distribution points (PDPs) and Farm service centres (FSCs) that handle inputs. 196 retailers were also appointed for fertilizer distribution, although at the end of that year only 46 of the retailers were actively involved in the distribution and sale of fertilizers to farmers.

Seeds distributed by these centres included maize, rice, cassava and cowpeas. Chemicals pumps and sprayers were also made available for hire to farmers at these centres.

The credit and marketing component of the sub-programme is involved in conducting periodic market surveys of the local markets across the whole state, meeting farmers and credit agencies (banks and loans boards).

Also the food processing component had identified 60 farmers/cooperative farmers groups for participation in cassava, maize, rice milling, plantains/bananas and ground nut oil processing schemes.

3. Engineering services sub-programme, is to provide the necessary infrastructure for an effective implimentation of the project, such as access roads, maintenance of machines, buildings and equipment, supply of low-cost potable water within project rural areas. Achievements had been made in the construction and maintenance of rural access roads (1560 Km), 2 office blocks, 1 maintenance workshop, and 32 fertilizer stores (appendix 6.c).

The CRADP also has four supporting sub-programmes made up of:

i. Administration;

ii. Manpower Development and Training;

iii. Finance;

iv. Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) sub-programme.

During the first phase of the project (1985-89) the state was demarcated into 3 zones, 5 areas, 23 blocks and 60 cells, for ease of operations. By 1988 the project estimated that 542,000 farming families were being actively involved in its schemes. The CRADP has a staff strength of 356 made up of 34 senior, 133 intermediate and 189 junior workers.

It seems very evident that the CRADP is the most visible agency charged with agricultural development in the rural areas of the state. This is due to the fact that it has field offices in most farming communities, and the CRADP representatives live in and operate demonstration farms in such communities. Thus the representatives live in and interact with members of these communities, and are readilly available to offer advice when required. They are also able to better understand the problems of the local farmers. This not witstanding, there are apparent lapses in its operations.

Foremost is the location of its headquarters in Calabar. An agency charged basically with agricultural development in a state such as Cross River needs to be located in a mainly agricultural zone. Calabar is not centrally located, and this means long distances for field officers to get in contact with policy makers in the main office should and when problems do occur that need immediate rectificatory action. This has often led to late response to instances of emergency in the light of poor communication facilities in the state.

Secondly, there is a void of any fishing projects in the gamut of activities being undertaken by CRADP even though Cross River has a large retinue of riverine communities mainly engaged in fishing activities, and numerous creeks, rivers and streams. Considering the fact that fish is a basic protein food requirement, and the difficulty of having meat in their daily diets due to inflation, fisheries development should be an area that CRADP should concentrate on.

Thirdly, the scarcity of animal feeds, drugs and vaccines and their high cost when available, is a major drawback on food and agricultural production for the small scale farmer in these rural communities. If this situation is to be ameliorated, the CRADP must get involved in the production of animal feeds, drugs and vaccines.

Another area where the CRADP should try to find answers to remains the non-adoptation of new innovations and methods, by local farmers. Improved seeds so far seem to be readily accepted but new methods of cultivation are still not been adopted as quickly as would have otherwise been desireable in order to achieve better yields.

In Bendi area of Obudu (now Obanlikwu LGA) for instance, the yam minisett method had been demonstrated and working quite satisfactorily by the resident representative. Yet many of the local farmers refused to adopt it because it produced only small yam tubers. In the area the size of yam tubers represents not only a successful harvest but also 'manhood' in yam cultivation.

7.10. **QUALITATIVE EVALUATION OF IMPACT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT.**

After a discussion of the aspects of rural socio-economic organization and interaction as well as activities of urban-based development associations and government agencies, it is now imperative to evaluate their impact in the study villages. The evaluation is qualitatively derived based on appraisal from observed findings in the rural survey, as regards the social, economic and poverty, health, education and assessibility impact on the rural communities. 30 variables are used in this survey evaluation (table 7.22).

7.10.a. **Social Impact.**

The 'bright lights' of the towns and other central places have not been transposed to the rural areas. But based on the social facilities now made available in the study areas, life may now be slightly better than before. For instance, town halls now located in every one of the study villages, are avenues for meetings of the village assemblies, unions, and other social occasions like bazaars and discotheques. The latter are now a common feature in these communities, especially during the holidays when secondary school students organize such activities to occupy their time.

They also provide recreational facilities such as indoor games. In a similar manner, the few hotels, restaurants, beer bars and local wine shops provide avenues for social interaction, relaxation, drinks and a variety of food and drinks, in an otherwise drab atmosphere. However the 'pull' of the surrounding towns remains a sure beacon, even as conditions become seemingly improved in these rural areas.

7.10.b. **Economic Impact and Impact on Poverty.**

The low population of Obudu LGA (89,822; 1991) and the low population density (80 per km^2) means there is no market large enough to enhance and expand the trade and commercial base. Since the economic resource base of these communities is agricultural, it means in part that any agricultural products have to be transported to far away markets for sale and disposal. The pattern that emerges is that, to a large extent this will continue to be an obstacle to improving the economy of the area. On the other hand, unless the narrow base of income sources and cash earnings, change dramatically in the short term, and more employment opportunities become available, expansion will remain a bleak possibility. Although the rural incomes and savings have been aided through the saving attributes of the village age groups and by urban remittances, much diversification in off-farm incomes is still required to make any appreciable impact and alleviate rural poverty. Access to credit is still a very difficult undertaking.

The cooperative societies seem to favour only a few well placed and well connected big-time rural farmers within the communities, and the Community Banking Scheme (One located at Utugwang and another planned for Ohong) is only being introduced with little impact as yet.

It is from this perspective that the economic viability of the rural families as they utilise the facilities and amenities (water, electricity, telephones etc) that have been set up could be considered. The irrigation opportunities provided by the Obudu dam (CRBDA) will make all year cultivation of vegetables, maize, etc. possible for the Ipong and other surrounding communities, likely leading to higher yields and incomes.

An improvement in the reach, in financial resources, adaptability and workability of the programmes of CRADP, BLP, CRBDA, and DFRRI can contribute a great deal to raising rural incomes and increase plot sizes, and production yields as land is abundantly available.

Table 7.22. Socio-economic Amenities in Study Villages.

AMENITY	STUDY VILLAGES						
	Bedia	Bendi	Ipong	Ohong	Okorshie	Ukpe	Utugwang
Primary school	1	3	1	1	1	1	5
Post primary institution	Commercial college	Technical college	Community Grammer	Community Grammer	Community Grammer	Community Grammer	Community Grammer
Electricity	NF	NF	F	NF	NF	NF	F
Water supply (bore hole)	-	2	3	1	-	2	3
Postal agency	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
Health centre	-	Maternity	Community hospital	Maternity Dispensary	-	Dispensary	Polyclinic Dispensary
Bank	-	-	-	Planned	-	-	Community bank
Provisions/Retail shop	3	5	5	4	1	3	15
Artisans	1	6	8	3	1	2	12
Periodic market	1	-	1	1	-	1	1
Hotel/Motel/Bar	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Restaurants	2	5	5	4	2	3	9
Local beer/wine bars	3	6	9	8	3	5	12
Cooperative society	1	2	4	1	1	2	5
Pharmacy/chemist	1	3	2	2	-	1	6
Cottage industry	-	1	1	1 planned	-	1 planned	3
Court	-	Customary court	-	-	-	Customary court	Customary court
Police station/post	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Town hall	1	3	3	1	1	1	3
Cinema house	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Games pitches	2	2	2	2	1	2	6
Roads assessibility index	Medium	High	High	Medium	Low	Low	High
Carpentry workshop	2	5	6	3	2	3	9
Bicycle/motor repair shop	-	2	2	1	-	1	4
Shoe repairs	1	2	2	1	-	1	5
Barbar/hair saloon	1	5	5	2	1	2	5
Tailors	2	4	6	3	1	2	8
Blacksmith	1	3	2	2	1	1	6
Traditional birth attendant	2	5	5	3	2	5	5
Petrol station/point	-	1	1	1	-	-	3

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey 1990/91. F = functional, NF = Non-functional.

7.10.c. **Health Impact.**

The upsurge in the number of health centres (dispensaries, clinics etc), means better health care and access to health facilities for a greater proportion of members of the communities. Okorshie and Ukpe are without any health centre or pharmacy. The health centres have the basic medical staff and they offer an improvement in the referral system from these centres to the general hospital at Obudu. We can infer that many of the childhood diseases can now be better attacked and eradicated. It would seem that the availability of bore holes in all the villages except Bedia and Okorshie means the scourge of water borne diseases like dysentery and cholera will be better tackled.

The incidence of home births is still a common feature in the villages, especially in Okorshie and Ukpe where health centres are not available. The government seems aware of this and has co-opted the assistance of traditional birth attendants who are on hand during such incidents. The overall effect of the existing health facilities would in the long term result in a healthier people, lower infant mortality and a higher life expectancy.

However, the advantageous impact will be meaningless unless the cost of treatment for ailments and medicines and drugs can be reduced to low enough levels to be affordable, in view of the generally low income levels in rural areas. Birth control must be vigorously pursued in order to reduce birth rates.

This would make mothers healthier, and family sizes more manageable and in the long run result in a more equitable resource distribution.

7.10.d. **Education Impact.**

Many more schools and colleges have been built in all the rural communities surveyed, mainly through self-help efforts. The government provides the teachers as the schools are established. As earlier indicated, the urban-based development associations have helped a great deal in the establishment of these schools. The trend is that many more people now have access to basic education, and they may even achieve secondary education within their community. It is highly likely that illiteracy especially among the young generation could be largely reduced, while the disparity between urban and rural, and male and female literacy levels may become smaller in the near future. The latter could happen only if attitudes towards female education changes for the better. The adults are targeted by adult literacy programmes that are functional in all the primary schools. Peer groups are being used to get at all sections of the population. The impact of this is still minimal as some people refuse to learn to read and write at old age. The eradication of illiteracy would be rewarding leading to improvement in general awareness in the rural community and standard of life.

Transportation costs hithereto to far away schools are now also considerably reduced, as the schools are located within the villages.

The apparent disadvantage in this development is that the high momentum of rural-urban migration will remain in place as the educated ones will continue to seek 'white collar' jobs in the urban areas. This is more so as the rural economy is not likely to improve dramatically and offer better rural employment opportunities in the short term.

7.10.e. **Accessibility Impact.**

Many roads have been built, reconstructed or rehabilitated and bridges and culverts constructed to ease accessibility between the villages under consideration and within the LGA generally. This has been undertaken collectively by the LGA, CRADP, CRBDA and DFRRI. Bendi and Utugwang are highly accessible being located on busy motor ways, the Obudu-Ikom and Obudu-Ogoja highways respectively. The close proximity of the villages, lower order centres, agrocentres, and growth centres within the LGA is an advantage, as trip times and journeys are reduced. The only exceptions are Okorshie and Ukpe, which because of their remoteness are not as accessible as others.

Very few vehicles ply these villages, and do so mainly during market days. The roads are earth roads and very dusty and rugged, with lots of pot holes. Other forms of transportation like the motorcycle may be available from time to time but quite costly to use. Petrol (the cost of which is reputed to be the lowest on the continent) is available in petrol stations or road side points in Bendi, Ipong, Ohong and Utugwang. However shortages occur regularly, due to the poor national storage and distributive fuel network. Transportation in this sense should be cheap, but the high cost of vehicle spare parts and maintenance makes this untenable.

Although Obudu LGA is situated at the north eastern corner of the State, making it the farthest LGA (310 Km) from Calabar the state capital, yet within the regional setup, it is properly placed to take advantage of its proximity and access to such towns as Gboko, Makurdi and Jalingo in Benue and Taraba states, in addition to those around it (Ikom and Ogoja) as well as other towns in Cross River State.

7.11. **CONCLUSION.**

Both causes and effects of migration are very complex to explain, and even empirical findings are not explicitly conclusive as we have seen from this survey. This is because such surveys are only a sample of the population and any gain or loss through migration at source or destination points is not fully shared or spread over the population. Migration does not guarantee an escape from poverty. Positive consequences may apply to an individual, not necessarily the whole family and vice versa. Gains become clearly manifest over a temporal perspective. However, rural norms which were before held sacrosanct are coming under greater influence from urban virtues, and way of life.

The continuation of urban-rural links is fostered by the extended family system and the need for security of interests in rural land ownership, which is held communally or by extended families. Kingship support remains strongly based on investment and to a lesser degree on reciprocity and family status.

It is however evident that the rural areas of Obudu LGA have benefited mainly from the efforts of government agencies and through the interaction of kin in towns with their extended families in these rural areas, visible in the availability of more amenities and greater rural accessibility. Also only a little of this has been achieved through self-help efforts by communities for example the *Aten*, and to a lesser degree from urban-based development associations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GENERAL CONCLUSION

8.1. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.

From our urban and rural research survey, the evidence is not necessarily a perfect reflection of the actual situation on the ground in all ramifications because the samples utilised in the analysis were small and not randomly chosen. This was unavoidable because of the time, data and resource constraints faced during the data collation and fieldwork period. Nevertheless, from our analysis and empirical findings the following summary, estimates and suggested conclusions can be made:

8.a. **URBAN SURVEY.**

Our research survey sample in Calabar shows a preponderance of male migrants (75%) to female migrants (25%). This was mainly as a result of heads of households responding to our questions although the last census (1991) shows more males (166,203) than females (154,659) resident in Calabar. The selectivity of migration in our sample would be shown by the age at which the respondents migrated. 93.5 percent of our respondents were between the ages of 21 and 45 while 53.9 percent were below thirty years of age. Only 6.1% were above 46 years old at the time of our survey. It seems likely however that the largest

migratory group is young adult males.

While 56.2 percent of our respondents were married 43.5 percent were single. Among the married category, 30.2% have between 1 and 3 children, 15.9% between 3 and 5 children and 9.4% more than 5 children. Although this situation shows a slight variation from the findings of a national survey (FOS, 1992:12) which estimates that the mean size for households in southeastern Nigeria is 5.5 (8.1 for households with foster children), it is an indication that household sizes in Calabar will experience changes with changing circumstances.

Our urban survey also shows that only 2.9% of the migrants in our sample lack any formal education. While 18.8 percent of our respondents mentioned that they have primary education, 35.4 percent had attained secondary education, 11.7% ordinary diploma (OND) at the time of our survey and 1.3 percent higher school certificate (HSC). Cumulatively up to 67.2 percent of our respondents had attained middle level education. Of the rest 6.2, 5.5, 13.3 and 4.9 percent had attained NCE, HND, BSc and MSc respectively. This situation reflects not only the success level of the free education programme (UPE) begun in 1976, but also confirms that Calabar is well served educationally. It also confirms the notion that literate migrants since better equiped, stand a better chance of gaining urban employment and hence tend to move more frequently.

By occupational distribution, civil servants constitute the

highest proportion (33.5%) of the migrants in our urban sample, while the informal sector accounts for 25.7%. Thus the government appears to remain the largest employer of labour in the state, although the employment generated within the informal sector is also significant. Due to the fact that established migrants assist new arrivals in scouting for jobs, most of the respondents (59.6%) were able to secure employment within one year of their arrival in Calabar. Although Calabar is not a very economically vibrant urban centre it is still the most important economic and business centre in the state.

The source regions of migrants into Calabar are mainly within the state (32.7%), Akwa Ibom state (35.7%) and Aba and Onitsha in Imo and Anambra states (8.8%). Areas as far away as Benin (3.6%), Port Harcourt and Lagos are also source regions of migrants.

From answers given by our respondents during the urban survey, it was evident that to a great extent, migration decisions are made personally (48.4%) although they are still also being made collectively by relatives or family (31.2%) and to a lesser degree, friends (6.5%) and co-villagers (0.3%). This may be a pointer that people are tending more towards private personal development than perpetual dependence on the extended family system.

Economic reasons remain the major motive for migration moves. Our survey in Calabar reveals that 72.2 percent of the respondents moved into Calabar for economic reasons, while 12.3 percent were made to move for educational reasons and 4.2 percent for social considerations. Since Calabar is the capital and

economic nerve centre of the state, it still remains a major attraction and pull to migrants.

Only 40.6 percent of the migrants in our urban sample had been involved in multiple migration, although notably there has been an increase in urban centres in Cross River state, both numerically and spatially. This has resulted from an increase in the number of growth centres from eight (Calabar, Akamkpa, Odukpani, Obubra, Ikom, Obudu, Ogoja and Ugep) to fourteen by political fiat by the creation of six additional local government areas (Itigidi, Ikot-Nakanda, Boje, Sankwala, Okpoma and Akpet Central), within the period 1990/91. This has further galvanized the urbanization process and expanded the sphere of urban-rural interaction within the state.

More than half (65.3%) of the respondents in our sample interact frequently with their home areas by visiting a few times a year. The facets of relationships between town and country are symbiotic in the nature of their interaction. As another aspect of urban-rural interaction, trading activities by some migrants with their rural home areas encourages migrant home visits. Although 73 percent of our urban respondents reported that they would do the same work in their rural home areas if such opportunities existed, it was not possible to establish how many would eventually return home. Evidence of counterurbanization in Cross River State remains inconclusive.

It is important to note the variation in responses among the

urban and rural samples especially as regards remittances and frequency of visits (table 6.17) as aspects of urban rural interaction. For instance, whereas 5.5% of the urban migrant sample remit money home 4-10 times a year, 6.1% of the rural respondents report that they received remittances 4-10 times a year. Also while 12.3% of the sampled rural respondents report a monthly receipt of remittance, the urban equivalent is 22.7%.

The survey did not set out to differentiate the 'second generation' among the migrants in our sample, but it is worthy to note that the young migrants (considered here as being below 30 years of age) constituted 53.9 percent of the urban sample. It was evident that they do not interact as much and do not visit home as frequently as the older migrants and therefore, ties they retain with their home areas are comparatively less significant.

Remittances as another aspect of urban-rural interaction and a modality for rural investment and the retention of other rural privileges, play a contributory role in the development of rural Obudu through contributions for the upkeep of the rural kith and kin, and rural upliftment generally. From our urban survey in Calabar, 73.1% of respondents in our sample reported that they remit money to their rural home areas. 176 out of 232 men, while 47 out of 77 women remit. Among the younger migrants there is reluctance in remitting money home (In the 16-20 age group for instance 22 out of 38 do not remit). The importance of remittances is seen particularly as regards for instance, the payment of school fees which is an obligation for migrants in

urban areas. For it is only through this that the educational training and hence the future of the younger kith and kin can be protected and assured as rural incomes remain comparatively low.

The facilitatory role of urban migrants in attracting government assistance for projects in their own home areas may be considered as important as remittances, especially among the senior civil servants, professionals and the well to do businessmen. Examples of this are in the location of community schools (Ohong, Okorshie, Ukpe and Bendi), community banks (Utugwang, Ohong), postal agency (Ipong) and health clinics and dispensaries (Ipong, Utugwang, Ohong). These self-help projects by the rural communities, as well as those of the government agencies are mainly articulated and encouraged by the urban migrants.

Within Calabar, the Obudu migrants organise themselves in associations (CDAs) as vehicles of urban adaptation, self-help and the enhancement of ethnic rural cooperation and cohesion. This may have accounted for the assistance given newly arrived migrants by those already established. For instance 50.6 percent of respondents report that they stayed with relatives, and 17.9 percent with friends on initial arrival in Calabar. One can conclude that this is an innovation that has spread to the rural communities in the form of various rural community associations (appendix 4) and evolution of the rural *aten* groups and vice versa. Similar innovations of this nature are beginning to affect for instance the structure of the extended family system. It would seem that urban migrants are opting for the nuclear family

as opposed to the extended family system, although this trend may only become wide spread in the future. This might result in the CDAs becoming more significant. It must be stated however that even though the CDAs are principally geared towards home area development, they have not effectively achieved that goal. The Obudu Development Association (ODA) which is the parent association in Calabar for instance, was found to be virtually inept.

8.b. **RURAL SURVEY.**

Another major aspect of this research is the rural component, which involved the assessment of those development influences, processes and interaction in rural Obudu. Our findings indicate that there is a high incidence of outmigration in those rural areas surveyed with more males than females migrating. A large minority (41.9%) of the sampled families had one or two children in town, while 25.1% had three or four and 32.2% five or more. Calabar is the favoured destination of outmigrants as reported by 19.8% of the respondents. Obudu town is also important accounting for 12.8% of the outmigrants. Other towns within the state that attract migrants from rural Obudu are Ogoja, Ikom, Ugep, Obubra, Akamkpa and Odukpani.

The main determining push factors of outmigration from rural Obudu are reported to be economic (43%) and educational (18.1%). This is attributable to the low economic base of rural Obudu.

However it was evident that migration for educational purposes is mainly for tertiary education since most of the studied communities now have primary, secondary schools and colleges. 5.7% of the respondents reported their children had migrated for marriage reasons.

Landownership is not a main causal factor of rural outmigration. Only 9.7% of respondents reported landholding problems. Land is still being perceived by some as communally or family owned (43.2%) even though the landuse act of 1978 vests the ownership of land on the governor of the state. 50.2% believe the land is personally owned. But land is readily available for housing and farming due to cultural permissiveness and low population density, although plots are discrete and discontinuous. The latter makes large scale farming virtually impracticable.

In the rural survey also visits and remittances were considered as the aspects of interaction between town and country. The modal (51.3%) group of respondents report visits of more than three times a year by their children, which reflects a high degree of interaction. 32.6% of the sample of rural heads of households reported that they received remittances two or three times a year, while 17.6% once a year and 12.3% more frequently (once a month). Remittances of two or three times a year were found to correspond to the cropping seasons and school terms during which money is most needed by rural kin to undertake farming and pay school fees. Remittances are mainly utilised for school fees (34.4%) and farming (15%). As reported, feeding accounts for only

(5.7%) as generally rural families are engaged in agricultural and food production.

Local community development organization at the rural level was also investigated. A major organ of organization is the *aten*, or age grade. Through periodic financial contributions, projects such as primary and secondary schools, clinics, boreholes, electricity and social facilities have been made available in the rural areas of Obudu surveyed. They cooperate with such agencies as DFRRI in the execution of these projects.

The rural survey also investigated the impact of the activities of government agencies (DFRRI, CRADP, CRBDA, NDE and BLP) involved in rural development. We found that through the efforts of DFRRI, the general state of rural infrastructure in rural Obudu has been uplifted through the provision of potable water (85 boreholes), access feeder roads (78.5km) and electricity at Ohong, Ipong, Okorshie, Utugwang and Bendi.

The Better Life Programme for Rural Women (BLP), has achieved some level of female empowerment, together with the greater involvement of women in decision making, better health care delivery, education and career development, and setting up of cottage industries (rice and kernel cracking mills) in Obudu.

The Cross River Basin Development Authority (CRBDA) with the development of the Abeb dam project, 2,000 farming families and 100 Obudu indigens have been assured of all year round gainful

employment, potable water for Obudu, Obanlikwu LGAs and parts of neighbouring Benue State, 1,000 hectares of irrigated land and the enhanced production of fish, rice, maize and vegetables.

The main success of the Cross River Agricultural Project (CRADP). lies in the greater availability of extension services to the rural farmers of Obudu.

Some achievement has also been recorded by the National Directorate of Employment (NDE). Through its open apprentice-ship scheme, small scale enterprises and graduate entrepreneurship programme, graduates and non-graduates agricultural self employment programme, the high rate of unemployment is gradually being tackled in both the urban and rural areas.

Although it is impossible to quantify the impact on rural development by the various processes and agencies involved in the development of rural Obudu, as reflected by the impact on life and general development and their roles and achievements, but utilizing our assessment and based on our empirical findings, we can grade in order of magnitude the development processes as follows:

a) Government agencies involved in rural development (NDE, DFRRI, CRBDA, CRADP and BLP).

b) Urban-rural remittances.

c) Self-help efforts by the communities through the *aten*, and rural-based community associations.

d) The urban-based Community Development Associations (CDAs).

However the different processes and agencies can be particularly important for certain functions. For example, while urban-rural remittances are important for school fees, urban-based CDAs are important for assistance to new migrants and influencing location of projects in rural home areas, while the aten and rural CDAs through self-help strive to make available basic amenities. The agencies on the other hand, are important for the provision of services like roads, electricity, potable water and cottage industries.

From these findings, the implications in developmental terms for rural Obudu, is obviously that much still has to be done. Although signs of improvement are evident, the spatial dimension of these processes is difficult to quantify even from our survey. It is in this sense that the actual benefits of rural development from our observation tends to be in the main, facilitatory. It is obvious that the rural communities of Obudu are now becoming better aware of their needs, realities, imperatives and the ramifications of their development problem. Fundamentally also, the major advantage seems to be that the stage has been set, and the momentum enhanced towards self-help participatory rural development.

8.2. POLICY OPTIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Government can only be mutually facilitating in the management of urban and rural development through policies that are workable and friendly, encapsulating firm goals and objectives. Policy perspectives must reflect local circumstances, aimed at both source and destination areas alike. Urban development is an evolutionary process, and while migration cannot be curbed its debilitating effects can be cushioned.

Integrated rural development must be polyphasic or multifaceted, pursued in tandem with rural empowerment and transcend the perfunctory, haphazard or stop-gap earlier approaches. It is only in this manner that the adverse effects in rural areas of the selectivity in migration could be less felt. The increase by the federal government of central revenue accruable/allocated to the LGAs from 15% to 20% with effect from 1992, should strengthen the LGAs and enhance rural empowerment and grassroots development.

Medium-sized towns need to be given greater government functions and presence to attract a greater number of migrants and ease the pressure on the state capital. As pointed out by Mabogunje (1968:324):

'policy must be based on the realization of the crucial role of urban centres for generating economic development within a given region.'

The recent state government policy to create three other town development authorities/agencies in Ikom, Ogoja and Ugep as now exists for Calabar is therefore a step in the right direction.

The urban-rural dichotomy is made less painful by interaction. Greater accessibility between the settlements, both urban and rural facilitates interaction as lack of access reinforces poverty (Rondinelli, 1985). Greater government action in communication and transportation development is imperative in this regard.

An appropriate technological base outside the cities is imperative as sound rural development and empowerment cannot succeed devoid of simple but relevant and affordable technology. There is therefore need for a tilt of policy in favour of technical education and training as well as adult and non-formal education. This is the only option that might obliterate the near-total reliance on subsistence and widespread unemployment in the rural areas. In this vein government could adopt a 'school to land programme' to take care of the army of rural unemployed, thereby encouraging self-employment. Model cottage industries are another viable prerequisite. The existing agencies (DFRRI, NDE, BLP, CRADP, CRBDA) are organs through which these policies could be actualized.

Grey areas of friction or overlap within the existing agencies (DFRRI, NDE, CRADP, BLP, CRBDA) exist. In this situation power tussles and personality conflicts cannot be ruled out. For

instance recent government decision to create a National Agricultural Land Development Authority (NALDA) seems to be a duplication of functions already being performed by DFRRI and NDE. Rather their functions should be consolidated and allowed to bear fruition. The prevalent tendency seems to be that the agencies are involved in too many activities at once, instead of rather concentrating on those functions and activities they could best execute with visible and viable results. However the existence of these agencies is a pointer that government is not complacent. Heuristic approaches are better than quiescence and as rightly contended by Chambers (1983:217):

> 'It is often best to start to do something and to learn from doing.'

The BLP for instance is the best strategy ever undertaken by any Nigerian government for gender emancipation. Although critics have labelled the programme 'Better life for urban women' it still represents a worthy cause. On the whole, these programmes need constant monitoring for attainment of set targets and objectives.

In the light of the above, there seems a clear need for a Ministry of Rural Development. Its role would be principally rural development as well as coordination of the activities of all agencies engaged in rural development to avoid the apparent duplication of efforts refered to above.

An urgent improvement in vital registration is imperative. The registration of births, deaths, marriages and other indices is inevitable for proper planning. To prioritize this, awareness programmes are needed to convince people of the need for such registration.

Community development associations (urban and rural based) are a pointer to the usefulness of self-help, participation and cooperation in development. Government cannot go it alone. This is more so as these associations are representative of their various communities, and are a fillip, however small, to the development efforts of government. They are the most appropriate organs for 'development from below'. But caution must be the watch word as regards the role of 'elites' in these associations, to avoid selfish aggrandizement.

There is an obvious need for a rethinking of the management of cooperative societies. A new approach with a focus on village age sets/groups with easily accessible finance may provide the needed impetus for their workability and viability. Community or people's banks may provide the necessary finance, but inherent bureaucracy and widespread fraud may checkmate whatever gains possible. This has been experienced in the existing pilot ones set up nation-wide.

It would seem that if government perception of development priorities coincides with those of the local people, conflict or failure to meet set targets and objectives would be unlikely.

8.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

What has emerged from this research is not a very clear-cut scenario, rather the situation evinces interaction in an unbalanced state of development between urban and rural areas, self-help efforts by various communities for development and some government response that is as yet short of highly perceivable achievements.

Various questions remain unanswered:

1. What will be the scope and dimension of internal migration in Cross River state particularly and in Nigeria generally in the short and long term or will counter-urbanization become a prevalent phenomenon ? The state government in its 1992 budget has set out new urban development schemes for the other senatorial districts at Ogoja, Ikom and Ugep towns, to plan and control urban development (Matching grant N5m). These new urban areas, as medium-sized towns, may become the destination centres for new out-migration streams away from Calabar and the rural countryside, even though the status of Calabar as a export free processing zone (EPZ) could make this less likely to a very significant degree.

At the national level state creation may lead to the creation of a greater number of medium-sized towns, redistributing population away from overcrowded cities such as Lagos. The gains of the

national population policy enacted in 1988 could gradually become manifest and stabilize fertility levels, and the successful conduct of the 1991 census has shown that Nigerians are seemingly more comfortable with a more manageable population size of 88.6 million people.

2. Will the rural areas remain forever marginalized, trammelled and in putative crises or would they achieve rural empowerment? In fact as rightly contended by Onibokun (1989), rural development is a prerequisite for effective urban management. Otherwise rural-urban migration may continue unabated, in the face of the desirable aspects of urban-rural interaction.

It remains to be seen how far the Cross River state government succeeds in achieving one of its cardinal planks in the 1992 budget: 'Stem rural-urban migration through accelerated development of our rural areas.' Although the state government in the 1992 budget has provided over N58m for rural development (DFRRI N8.5m; CRADP N6m; NALDA N2m; RUWATSAN N1.5m; rural electrification N40m) it will take some time yet before the achievements of DFRRI, BLP, NDE, and CRADP, CRBDA become very evident and result in the uplift of livelihood across the spectrum of rural society.

3. What changes are likely to affect the pedigree extended family system in view of contemporary attitudes of the younger generation in the absence an established government social security system ?.

Migration is certain to lead to innovations patterning to aspects of the extended family system. The younger generation may consider the system as archaic, and may also begin to challenge either openly or surreptitiously, traditional hierarchical authority within the family, as they try out new family models.

Although it may be desirable to indicate proposals or policy recommendations as mentioned above, it is imperative to here propose areas and directions of future research. From this survey, areas that need further investigation within the framework of urban-rural interaction and urban development are:

i. Investigation of how best to encourage urban-based community development associations in their roles in assisting new migrants. They could be another channel through which urban unemployment and distress could be tackled.

ii. A further investigation of those rural institutions of social organization such as the *aten* groups, that would best suit development 'from within' and local initiatives;

iii. Another area that needs attention seems to be how best to harness unutilized and under-utilized local resources. These include indigenously based knowledge and expertise about the local environment.

iv. The usefulness of 'place specific' research cannot be overemphasized in view of the diverse nature of the socio-economic, cultural and environmental conditions that prevail in Cross River State in particular, and Nigeria in general. One of the major advantages is in the adaptation of resultant policies to local needs. This is another perspective area that needs further investigation.

Although migration, urbanization and urban-rural interaction in a sense are desirable, any paeans are inappropriate until a greater number of rural dwellers are better served with the basic necessities of life as obtainable in civilized society.

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APPENDIX 1(A).

QUESTIONAIRE: URBAN SURVEY.

URBAN-RURAL INTERACTION IN CROSS RIVER STATE NIGERIA.

This questionaire is to investigate urbanization in the Cross River state of Nigeria. Another aspect is to verify the extent of linkages between migrants and their home towns and areas.

The information required is for research purposes ONLY and shall be treated with confidentiality.

We appreciate and thank you for your time and effort in providing answers to our questions.

Thank you.

1. Sex of migrant:

   [ ] Male

   [ ] Female

2. Age.

[ ]	Below 15	[ ]	41-45
[ ]	16-20	[ ]	46-50
[ ]	21-25	[ ]	51-55
[ ]	26-30	[ ]	56-60
[ ]	31-35	[ ]	61 and above.
[ ]	36-40		

3.a Marital status.

   [ ] Single

   [ ] Married

3.b. If married number of wives.

   [ ] One
   [ ] Two and above

3.c. If married number of children

[ ] 1-3

[ ] 3-5

[ ] 5 and above

4. Educational status.

[ ]	Primary	[ ]	HND
[ ]	Secondary	[ ]	B.Sc
[ ]	Ordinary diploma	[ ]	M.Sc and above
[ ]	H.Sc	[ ]	No formal education
[ ]	National Certificate of education		

5a. Name of home town/village of origin.

b. Name of home town/village of your wife if married.

6. For how long have you lived in this town ?

[ ] Less than one year

[ ] 2-5 years

[ ] 5 years and above.

7a. Type of occupation

[ ]	Petty trader	[ ]	Student
[ ]	Artisan	[ ]	Not employed
[ ]	Junior Civil servant	[ ]	Housewife
[ ]	Senior civil servant	[ ]	Teaching
[ ]	Chief executive	[ ]	Businessman
[ ]	Private sector worker/employee		
[ ]	Other		

7b. If you are a student, will you return to your hometown after completing your education ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

7c. Would you do this type of work in your hometown ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

8. How long did it take you to secure an urban job ?

[ ] Less than one month

[ ] 2-3 months

[ ] 4-6 months

[ ] 7-12 months

[ ] More than one year.

9a. Where did you stay on your initial arrival in town ?

[ ] Relative/sibling

[ ] Friends

[ ] Official accomodation

[ ] Boarding houses/squatter accomodation

[ ] Employer or apprentice master

[ ] Self rented accomodation

9b. What form of assistance did you receive from your urban contact ?

[ ] Accomodation

[ ] Food

[ ] Money

[ ] Job search

[ ] Others.

10. Who suggested you migrate to this town ?

[ ] Personal decision

[ ] Relative

[ ] Friend

[ ] Co-villager

[ ] Job transfer

11a. Did you come directly to this town from your home town or you stayed for sometime in another town ?

[ ] Came directly

[ ] Stayed initially in another town

b. If you stayed initially in another town, what is the name of that town ?

c. Why did you migrate to town ?

d. Why this town ?

12a. How often do you visit your home town ?

[ ] Once or twice a month

[ ] 3 or 4 times a year

[ ] Two times a year

[ ] Once a year

[ ] Once in two years

[ ] Very rarely

[ ] Never

b. How long do you stay on each visit ?

[ ] About two days

[ ] Less than a week

[ ] A week

[ ] A forthnight

[ ] Two - four weeks, less tha a month

[ ] More than a month.

13. If you earn more money in town than you need to pay for food and acommodation, how do you spend it ?

[ ] Savings :Bank
Post office
Association savings
Home remittances.

[ ] Expenditure on house,

[ ] Furniture

[ ] Marriage

[ ] Clothes

[ ] Enjoyment

[ ] Farming in village farm

[ ] Land

[ ] Others.

14a. Do you send money home ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

b. If yes how often ?

[ ] Once a month (very often)

[ ] Two or three times a year (occationally)

[ ] 4-10 times a year (often)

[ ] Once or less a year (rarely)

[ ] When needed

[ ] When there was money to spare

c. What amounts of money do you send ?

[ ] Less than N10

[ ] 10-50

[ ] 50-100

[ ] 100-200

[ ] 200-500

[ ] Above 500

[ ] Different amounts each time.

d. How do you send the money ?

[ ] Personally

[ ] Post office

[ ] Bank-cheque or draft

[ ] Relatives or friends

[ ] Bus or car drivers

15. For what purpose is the money you send to your home town used for ?

[ ] Maintaining village household

[ ] Education of younger brothers and sisters

[ ] Farming

[ ] Festivals

[ ] Marriage

[ ] Home town house

[ ] Business/trading

[ ] Home town welfare project

16a. Do you conduct trade or business with your home town ?

b. If yes what is the nature of the trade or business ?

17. In what way do you initially help relatives or others who come to live in this town ?

[ ] Provide temporary accomodation

[ ] Finding accomodation

[ ] Help in search for job

[ ] Help with money
Loan ?
Gift ?

[ ] Other

[ ] None

APPENDIX 1 (B)

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR OFFICERS OF URBAN-BASED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION(S).

1a. What is the name of your association ?
 b. When was the association started ?
 c. Who started it ?
 d. What are the aims and objectives of the association ?

2.What is your official position in the association ?
 [ ] President/Chairman
 [ ] Vice President/Chairman
 [ ] Secretary
 [ ] Assistant secretary
 [ ] Treasurer
 [ ] Financial secretary
 [ ] Auditor
 [ ] Other post.

3. What are your duties ?

4a. How much do members subscribe to the association ?
 b. Is this subscribtion
 [ ] Forthnightly/Biweekly
 [ ] Monthly
 [ ] Quarterly
 [ ] Annually
 [ ] Other

5a. Do you keep a register of members ?
 [ ] Yes
 [ ] No

b. How many members do you have ?

6a. How do new arrivals in town become members ?

b. Who is entitled to be a member ?

c. What are the advantages of membership ?

7. How do you aid new arrivals to settle into the new life in town ?

8a. Does the association have any specific development projects back in your home town ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

8b. If yes how do you finance it/them ?

8c. Kindly describe these projects in detail.

8d. Why were these particular projects selected ?

9. Would you say that rural-urban migration is advantageous to the general wellbeing of your home town ?

APPENDIX 1 (C).

QUESTIONAIRE: RURAL HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS.

1. How many of your children are in big towns ?

2. Are they
   [ ] Male
   [ ] Female
   [ ] Both

3. Which towns are they in ?
   [ ] Obudu
   [ ] Ogoja
   [ ] Ikom
   [ ] Obubra
   [ ] Ugep
   [ ] Akamkpa
   [ ] Odukpani
   [ ] Calabar
   [ ] Any other town

4. Why did they leave home ? For the purpose of
   [ ] School
   [ ] Work
   [ ] Marriage
   [ ] Business
   [ ] Shortage of land
   [ ] Dissatisfaction with rural life
   [ ] Other reasons (Specify)

5. How often do they visit home ?
   [ ] Once or twice a month
   [ ] Three or four times a year
   [ ] Twice a year
   [ ] Once a year

[ ] Once in two years
[ ] Very rarely.

6a. Do they send money home ?
[ ] Yes
[ ] No

b. If yes how often ?
[ ] Once a month
[ ] Twice or three times a a year
[ ] Four times a year
[ ] Five or six times a year
[ ] Once a year
[ ] Other

7. How much do they send ?
[ ] 1 - 50
[ ] 50 - 200
[ ] 200- 500
[ ] Above 500
[ ] Amount varies

8. What do you use this money for ?
[ ] Feeding
[ ] Farming
[ ] Fees for those schooling at home
[ ] Build house
[ ] Marry wife
[ ] Medication
[ ] Other uses

9. How does he send the money ?
[ ] Through post office/bank
[ ] Self delivery
[ ] Friends
[ ] Relatives

10a. Would you say since your children left for town your livelihood has

[ ] Remained the same

[ ] Improved

[ ] Deteriorated

10b. If deteriorated give nature of this situation.

11a. How many plots of land do you own ?

[ ] One

[ ] Two

[ ] 3-5

[ ] 5-10

[ ] More than ten

[ ] None

11b. Is the land yours ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

11. c. If no who does it belong to ?

[ ] The family

[ ] Village/Community

[ ] Other

11d. Do you have any landholding problem ? Please specify

12a. Do you belong to any age group association ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

12b. If yes name the age group.

13. Are you a member of your community/Developmental association ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

14. What schemes has it embarked upon ?

15a. Has your rural community benefited from any development association in a big town ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

15b. Have you personally (or your family) received any benefit from a development association ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

16a. Do you think people who live in big towns are more prosperous than those of you at home ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

16b. Give your reasons

17. What are your views on young men and women leaving your home town for the big towns ?

APPENDIX 1 (D)

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FOR OFFICERS OF AGE GRADE ASSOCIATIONS.

1a. What is the name of your age grade ?

b. What is the age range of members ?

c. When was it founded ?

d. Who founded it ?

2. What are its aims and objectives ?

3. How do people become members ?

4a. How much do members subscrbe to the group ?

b. Is this subsription

[ ] Weekly

[ ] Biweekly

[ ] Monthly

[ ] Quarterly

[ ] Annually

[ ] Other

5. How many members do you have ?

6. What is your contribution to the development of your rural home ?

7. Does your age group have any specific development schemes ? Please specify.

8. Have you received any help from any developmental association in any big town ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

9. Have you personally benefited from the help of a development association in any big town ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

10. Do you think the movement of people from here to the big towns is beneficial to your home town ?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

APPENDIX 2(A)

ANALYSIS VARIABLES FOR URBAN SURVEY.

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE CODE	VALUE LABEL
1.	ID	'Case identifying number'
2.	SEX	'Sex of respondent'
3.	AGE	'Age of respondent'
4.	MAST	'Marrital status'
5.	NOW	'Number of wives'
6.	NOC	'Number of children'
7.	EDST	'Educational status'
8.	HTOR	'Home town of origin'
9.	HTOW	'Home town of wife'
10.	LTABINT	'Length of abode in town'
11.	OCC	'Occupation'
12.	POFRAE	'Possibility of return after education'
13.	DOSWIHT	'If would do same work in home town'
14.	LTSUJ	'Length of time taken to secure urban job'
15.	PORIT	'Place of residence on arrival in town'
16.	ARFOC	'Assistance received from urban contact'

17.	WSUM	'Who suggested migration'
18.	WMIGDIR	'Whether migrated directly'
19.	TOINMIG	'Town of initial migration'
20.	REFOM	'Reason for migrating'
21.	REFMIC	'Reason for migrating into Calabar'
22.	FREOHVT	'Frequency of home visit'
23.	LOSOHV	'Length of stay on each visit'
24.	EXPENS	'Expenditure of earnings and savings'
25.	HOMOR	'Home money remittance'
26.	FREOR	'Frequency of remittance'
27.	AMRENT	'Amount remitted'
28.	MEOREM	'Means of remittance'
29.	PURORE	'Purpose and utilization of remittance'
30.	BUTWHT	'Business or trade with home town'
31.	NAOTB	'Nature of business or trade'
32.	HETM	'Help to new migrants'

APPENDIX 2(B)

ANALYSIS VARIABLES FOR RURAL SURVEY.

VARIABLE NUMBER	VARIABLE CODE	VALUE LABEL
1.	ID	'Case identifying number'
2.	NOCINT	'Number of children in town'
3.	SOCINT	'Sex of children in town'
4.	TOMT	'Town migrated to'
5.	REFOM	'Reasons for outmigration'
6.	FREOV	'Frequency of home visits'
7.	REM	'Remittance'
8.	FREREM	'Frequency of remittance'
9.	AMREM	'Amount of remittance'
10.	PUOREM	'Purpose and utilization of remittance'
11.	MOREM	'Mode of remittance'
12.	STOL	'State of rural family livelihood since migration'
13.	NOD	'Nature of deterioration if any'
14.	LAPOW	'Land or number of plots owned'
15.	LART	'Land rights'

16.	OTHPEN	'Ownership other than personal'
17.	LAHOP	'Land holding problem if any'
18.	MAG	'Membership of age grade'
19.	NAG	'Name of age grade'
20.	MOCDA	'Membership of community development association'
21.	SOCDA	'Schemes of community development associations'
22.	BEFUDA	'Benefits from urban-based community development associations'
23.	PEFUDA	'Personal benefits from urban-based community development associations'
24.	PASSOM	'Prosperity assessment of migrants'
25.	REFSO	'Reasons for above opinion'
26.	VOMM	'Views on migrants and migration'

APPENDIX 3

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATIONS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN OBUDU LGA (CROSS RIVER STATE) NIGERIA.

S/N	Name of association	Year of formation	PROJECTS Completed	Ongoing	Proposed
1.	Alege community development Ass.	1968	Town hall Roads Market Prim. sch	Health centre Bridge	Elec.
2.	Amukwong Comm. dev. ass.	1971	Prim. sch Town hall	Postal agency	Elec.
3.	Bayama comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Prim.sch Town hall	Comm. farm Health centre Water supply	-
4.	Bayayam comm. dev. ass.	1976	Town hall Primary sch. blk.	Road culverts Water supply	-
5.	Bayapri comm. dev. ass.	1976	Town hall Primary sch. blk. Roads	Mkt. stalls	Bore holes
6.	Bayalele comm. dev. ass.	1976	Town hall Roads Primary sch. blk.	Road culverts Comm. farms	Bore holes
7.	Bayanda comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Town hall	Health centre	
8.	Bayano comm. dev. ass.	1976	Prim. sch. Roads Teachers quarters	Road culverts Water scheme	Bore holes
9.	Bayasung comm. dev. ass.	1976	Prim. sch. Teachers quarters Roads	Road culverts Bridge Health centre	Bore holes
10.	Bayatasah comm. dev. ass.	1976	Roads Sch. blk.	-	Bore holes

11.	Bayatu comm. dev. ass.	1976	Town hall Culverts Bridges Sch. blk.	Health centre	-
12.	Bebi comm. dev. ass.	1970	Prim. sch. Roads Health centre Town hall	Comm. farms Bore holes	Elec.
13.	Bebuabie comm. dev. ass.	1971	-	Health centre Postal agency Bore holes Prim. school Sec. sch. blk.	Elec
14.	Bebuabong comm. dev. ass.	1968	Prim. sch. Roads Town hall	Comm. farms (rice & cass) Scholarship scheme	Elec.
15.	Bebuagam comm. dev. ass.	1972	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. Sec. sch. blk.	Scholarship scheme Water sheme	Elec.
16.	Bebuagbong comm. dev. ass.	1976	Sec. sch. blk. Town hall	Water scheme	-
17.	Bebuatsuan comm. dev. ass.	1973	Town hall Prim. sch. block Bore hole	Bore holes Scholarship scheme	Elec.
18.	Bebwawhan comm. dev. ass.	1978			
19.	Becheve comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. Health centre	Roads	Elec.
20.	Bedia comm. dev. ass.	1971	Sec. sch. Prim. sch. Postal agency Road culverts	Elec.	Bore holes
21.	Befere comm. dev. ass.	1973	Roads Culverts	Town hall	Water supply scheme

22.	Begiaba comm. dev. ass.	1968	Roads Culverts Town hall Prim. sch.	Comm.farms (yam & cass)	Water supply scheme Elec.
23.	Begiading comm. dev. ass.	1968	Roads Culverts Sec. sch. Fish pond Health centre	Elec. Bore holes	Garri factory
24.	Begiagba comm. dev. ass.	1968	Prim. sch. Sec. sch. Health centre	Comm. farm (rice)	Rice mill
25.	Begiashishe comm. dev. ass.	1976	Town hall Health centre Postal agency	Comm. farm	-
26.	Belenge comm. dev. ass.	1973	Roads Rice farm Health centre	Culverts	-
27.	Bendi comm. dev. ass.	1970	Health centre Roads Bore holes Techn. sch.	Bakery Teachers quarters	Elec. Town hall
28.	Betan comm. dev. ass.	1969	Roads Culverts Market stalls Livestock farm	Livestock farm	Meat proc. plant
29.	Betukwel comm. dev. ass.	1969	Prim. sch. Health centre Roads Culverts	Roads Culverts Elec.	Elec.
30.	Egah-Nkerira comm. dev. ass.	1973	Roads Culverts	Bridge	Elec.
31.	Ipong comm. dev. ass.	1968	Sec. sch Civic centre Bore holes	Bore holes Elec.	Elec.
32.	Igwo comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. Fish pond	Fish pond Bore holes Elec.	Elec.

33.	Ibong comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. Livestock farm	Livestock farm Elec. Town hall Health clinic	Elec.
34.	Ikomkwu comm. dev. ass.	1971	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. blk. Teachers qts. Health centre	Elec. Bore holes	-
35.	Kakum comm. dev. ass.	1970	Town hall Prim. sch. Sec. sch. blk. Roads Culverts	Roads Bore holes Postal agency	Civic centre
36.	Kakwalaka comm. dev. ass.	1976	Health centre Techn. sch block Roads	Comm. farm (rice)	Rice mill
37.	Ketting comm. dev. ass.	1976	Prim. sch. Postal agency Culverts Town hall	Roads	Health centre
38.	Kubong-bette comm. dev. ass.	1973	Roads Prim. sch. Town hall	Water supply scheme	Bore holes
39.	Kundeve comm. dev. ass.	1969	Roads Culverts Town hall	Health centre Water supply scheme	Bore holes
40.	Kutiang comm. dev. ass.	1968	Prim. sch. Roads Culverts	Water supply sheme	Bore holes
41.	Obudu development association (ODA)	1961	Roads Bridges Health centres Schools Colleges	Bore holes Elec.	Cottage ind.
42.	Obang comm. dev. ass.	1971	Prim. sch. Market Health centre Roads Culverts	Bore holes	-

43.	Ohong comm. dev. ass.	1969	Prim. sch. Sec. sch. Health centre Bore hole Roads Culverts Bridge	Elec. Water supply scheme Bridge	Cottage ind.
44.	Okordem comm. dev. ass.	1969	Prim. sch. Roads	Comm. farms	Bore holes
45.	Okorigung comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Town hall Prim. sch.	Health centre Water supply scheme	Elec.
46.	Okorotung comm. dev. ass.	1970	Roads Prim. sch. Health centre	Comm. farms Schl. scheme	Bore holes Elec.
47.	Okwel-obudu dev. ass.	1969	Prim. sch. block Sec. sch. block Roads Culverts	Chief's palace Comm. farms Elec.	-
48.	Omale comm. dev. ass.	1976	Market Town hall	Comm. farms Postal agency	-
49.	Sankwala comm. dev. ass.	1969	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. blk. Sec. sch. Polyclinic	Bore holes Elec.	
50.	Shikpeche comm. dev. ass.	1971	Prim. sch. Roads Culverts Civic centre	Chief's palace Health centre Schl. scheme Loans scheme	Ricemill Bore holes
51.	Udeshi comm. dev. ass.	1972	Prim. sch. block Health centre	Elec. Comm. farms	-
52.	Udie-Igie comm. dev. ass.	1978	Prim. sch. block Water supply scheme	Comm. farms	-

53. Ukpe comm. dev. ass.	1976	Roads Culverts Prim. sch. Health centre Sec. sch.	Comm. farms Garri Water supply mill scheme
54. Utugwang comm. dev. ass.	1968	Sec. sch. Paramount chief's palace Elec. Polyclinic Prim. schs.	Bridge Ricemill Elec.

SOURCE: Rural survey; DFFRI annual reports, 1988-1992.
Council office annual reports, Obudu local government council.
CR Basin Development Authority (CRBDA) annual reports 1985-91.

APPENDIX 4 (A)

DFRRI ACCESS ROADS DEVELOPMENT IN CROSS RIVER STATE.

LGA	New Roads (Km)/No.	Reconstructed Roads (Km)/No	Rehabilitated Roads (Km)/No.	TOTAL (Km)
Akamkpa	4.8(1)	17(2)	147.8(13)	169.6
Calabar	-	8.9(3)	8.2(2)	17.1
Ikom	-	47.5(5)	56(4)	103.5
Obubra	10.7(1)	88(8)	20.5(3)	119.2
Obudu	-	37.9(5)	40.6(7)	78.5
Odukpani	10.7(2)	36.3(5)	61.4(8)	108.4
Ogoja	28(3)	85.4(5)	18.5(3)	131.9
TOTAL	54.2(7)	321 (32)	353(40)	728.2

SOURCE: Cross River State, Directorate For Food, Roads and Rural Infractructure (DFRRI) progress report, 1986-91.

APPENDIX 4 (B)

RURAL WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMME OF DFRRI IN CROSS RIVER STATE.

PHASE I			PHASE II	
LGA	No. of boreholes	Non functional	No. of boreholes	No. completed
Akamkpa	16	3	80	In progress
Calabar	4	1	70	"
Odukpani	15	4	85	"
Obubra/ Ugep	16	-	170	"
Ikom	16	-	81	"
Obudu	16	-	85	"
Ogoja	16	-	81	"
TOTAL	99	8	660	"

SOURCE: Cross River State, DFRRI progress report 1986-91.

APPPENDIX 5.

PROJECTS OF CROSS RIVER AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME.

ACTIVITY	TARGET	AMOUNT COMPLETED	% ACHIEVED
1. **EXTENSION**			
i. Trainning	175	145	83
ii. Establishment of ADP field offices	91	91	100
iii. Selection of contact farmers	1,800	1,200	66
2. **SEED MULTIPLICATION**			
i. Cassava multiplication	10 ha.	11 ha.	110
ii. Composite maize multiplication	6 ha.	4 ha.	66
iii. Hybrid maize multiplication	1 ha.	1 ha.	100

iv. Yam minisett	1 ha.	0.2 ha.	20
v. Cow pea multiplication	1 ha.	1 ha.	100
3. ON-FARM ADAPTIVE RESEARCH			
i. Diagnostic Survey of farming systems	2	2	100
ii. Field trials involving different crop combinations and treatments.	5	3(9 locations)	60
4. PROCUREMENT OF INPUTS AND PLANTING MATERIALS			
i. Inputs.			
Fertilizer	5,500mt.	5,760.75mt.	105
Chemicals	3950 ltrs.	2970 ltrs.	75
Tablets	20 tins	12 tins	60
Pumps and sprayers	30	-	-

ii. Planting			
materials			
Seeds			
Maize	22t	25.36t	115
Rice	20t	9.50t	47.5
Cowpeas	2t	0.08t	4
Cassava			
cuttings	3,000	270	
	bundles	bundles	9

5. **COOPERATIVE**		
SOCIETIES		
i. Cassava	430,000 families	Various stages
ii. Yams	110,000 "	of formation
iii. Maize	115,000 "	
iv. Upland rice	30,000 "	
v. Swamp rice	35,000 "	
vi. Plantain/		
bananas	25,000 "	
vii. Groundnuts	20,000 "	
vii. Others	100,000 "	

6. ROADS AND ENGINEERING PROJECTS			
i. Roads reinstatement	150 km	150 km	100
ii. Recurrent roads maintenance	400 km	350 km	87.5
iii. Routine roads maintenance	1000 km	850 km	85
iv. New plants and vehicles	13	10	77
v. Re-building of plants and vehicles	15	15	100
vi. Construction of project buildings	5 blocks	5 blocks	100
vii. Rehabilitation of project buildings	32 fertilizer stores	25 fertilizer stores	78

SOURCE: Fieldwork, rural survey and CRADP phases reports, 1990/91.

APPENDIX 6

GLOSSARY

AKAWU = Secretary in a development association or age set.

AKPE = A top elite association based in Calabar.

ATEN = Age group/set.

BDA = Bendi Development Association.

BLP = Better Life Programme for Rural Women, established in 1986.

CRADP = Cross River State Agricultural Development Project established in 1986.

CRBDA = Cross River Basin Development Authority established in 1976.

CRS = Cross River State.

DFRRI = Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure set up in 1985.

EPZ = Export free processing zone. Calabar has been designated as an EPZ.

LGA = Local government area. This is the third tier of government. The country is made up of 589 LGAs, Cross River State, 14.

NALDA = National Agricultural Land Development Agency.

NDE = National Directorate of Employment, set up in 1986.

ODA = Obudu Development Association.

ODU = Ohong Development Union.

RUWATSAN = Rural Water and Sanitation Agency.

UBAM = A thrift and savings association, and an arm of ODA in Calabar. It is also a term generally used for savings associations (sometimes known as rotating credit societies) in Cross River and Benue States.

UDA = Ukwel-Obudu Development Association.

UKPLUGU = Sergeant at arms in an age set.